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JOURNAL OF A FRENCH
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A FRENCH TRAVELLER IN THE COLONIES, 1765

DOCUMENTS

Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, I.

MR. ABEL DOYSIÉ, searching Paris archives under the general direction of Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, was so fortunate as to discover the following journal in the archives of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine,¹ and, immediately appreciating its interest and importance, has placed it at the disposal of the *Review*. The manuscript consists of 79 unnumbered pages. Of these, the first 54 are a journal, in English, extending from December 4, 1764, to September 7, 1765. Page 55 contains only a memorandum in French. Pages 56-62 inclusive present, in French, a close equivalent of the English narrative through March 14, 1765. Pages 63-69 are a discussion, in French, of the American towns, especially Norfolk, Philadelphia, and New York, of their defenses, and of the degree of ease with which they might be attacked. Pages 70-79, not here printed, contain a series of comments, article by article, by the same writer, on someone's plans for the conquest of Jamaica from the English.

The writer was a Catholic, and apparently a Frenchman, indeed apparently an agent of the French government; but all efforts to identify him, both by careful investigations in the French archives and by consultation of books and manuscripts in this country, have thus far been unsuccessful, except that it has been demonstrated, from evidence in the French archives, that he was not M. de Pontleroy, whom Choiseul sent over to inspect the colonies in 1764. He seems to use English and French with nearly equal freedom, at any rate spells both about equally well. The manuscript is in the same hand throughout, with the same peculiarities of execution, such as the almost constant capitalizing of C, D, and E. But it appears that the journal we have was not the first manuscript, but is the result of subsequent copying. The installment now printed divides at the crossing of the Potomac. The journey to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York will be presented in the second installment, together with the notes on defenses.

While the remarks of this observant traveller have at many

¹ Vol. 76, no. 2.

points a considerable value, and are not unfairly to be compared to those of Burnaby, Anburey, and Lord Adam Gordon, the most interesting single matter in the journal is the writer's eye-witness account of the debate in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, May 30 and 31, 1765, on Patrick Henry's resolutions against the Stamp Act, and especially interesting is the writer's version of the celebrated passage in Henry's speech in which he made his interrupted comparison of George III. with Caesar and Charles I. It is a remarkable chance that further information respecting that debate should come to light, after this distance of time, from a source so unexpected.

It may be of interest to set forth the basis of our existing knowledge concerning that oft-quoted passage in Henry's speech. The first published account occurs in a private letter from Virginia, dated June 21, apparently not written by an eye-witness, which was published in extract in the *London Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, no. 11,303, Aug. 13, and was thence reprinted in *The General Advertiser for the New York Thursday's Gazette*, no. 1191, Oct. 31, 1765.² This anonymous writer says:

Mr. ——— has lately blazed out in the Assembly, where he compared ——— to a Tarquin, a Caesar, a Charles the First, threatening him with a Brutus, or an Oliver Cromwell; yet Mr. ——— was not sent to the Tower: but having prevailed to get some ridiculous violent Resolves passed, rode off in triumph, some of which Resolves were passed one day, and erased the next; and the G——, advised by the Council, thought proper to dissolve the Assembly.

The first statement published in any book seems to have been that of Gordon, who says,³ "Upon reading these resolves [he no doubt means, upon the reading of these resolves] the Scotch gentlemen in the House cried out treason, etc. They were however adopted." John Burk, in the third volume of his *History of Virginia* (Petersburg, 1805),⁴ reports the passage more fully, thus: "'Caesar', said he, 'had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell, and (pausing) George the third (here a cry of treason, treason, was heard, supposed to issue from the chair, but with admirable presence of mind he proceeded) may profit by their examples. Sir, if this be treason,' continued he, 'make the most of it.'" But Burk also purports to give, as a quotation, an extended sketch of the

² The librarian of Yale College, Mr. Andrew Keogh, kindly favored the editor with a transcript of the article, from the New York newspaper preserved in that library. The *London Gazetteer*, since examined, reads the same. The matter of the resolves, to which the writer alludes, is discussed in note 84, below.

³ *History of the Rise*, etc. (London, 1788), I. 170.

⁴ Page 309.

speech, certainly apocryphal, and his account of the resolutions is so erroneous as to allow little authority to his narrative.

The classical account is that which was next published, namely, by William Wirt, in his *Life of Patrick Henry*. It runs as follows:⁵

It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god, "Caesar had his Brutus — Charles the first, his Cromwell, and George the third — ('Treason!' cried the speaker — 'treason, treason', echoed from every part of the house. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not an instant; but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis) — *may profit by their example*. If *this* be treason, make the most of it."

To this passage in his text, Wirt annexes the following footnote:

I had frequently heard the above anecdote of the cry of treason, but with such variations of the concluding words, that I began to doubt whether the whole might not be fiction. With a view to ascertain the truth, therefore, I submitted it to Mr. Jefferson, as it had been given to me by Judge Tyler, and this is his answer, "I well remember the cry of treason, the pause of Mr. Henry at the name of George III., and the presence of mind with which he closed his sentence, and baffled the charge vociferated." The incident, therefore, becomes authentic history.

Wirt's account is therefore given on the joint authority of John Tyler the elder and of Thomas Jefferson, both of whom heard the speech, standing side by side in the doorway between the house and the lobby,⁶ the former a youth of eighteen, the latter of twenty-three. Jefferson in his autobiography refers to this account by Wirt for the details of the matter.⁷ Apparently the account of these two eye-witnesses is confirmed in a manuscript letter to Wirt, by Paul Carrington, who also was an eye-witness, indeed a member of the house.⁸

Early in the nineteenth century Edmund Randolph (d. 1813) wrote a *History of Virginia*, which still remains in manuscript, in which he reports the language of the orator thus: "'Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First, his Cromwell, and George the Third'—'Treason, Sir,' exclaimed the Speaker; to which Mr.

⁵ I quote from the second edition (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 65, but I believe all editions read the same.

⁶ Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), IX. 468.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 6. Wirt says that the speech given by Burk is apocryphal, and that he himself "has not been able to procure a single authentic trace of that speech, except the anecdote presently given in the text." *Patrick Henry*, p. 64.

⁸ Henry's *Henry*, I. 86.

Henry instantly replied, 'and George the Third, may he never have either.'"⁹ But Randolph of course did not hear the speech, and was indeed but a boy of twelve when it was made.

Governor Fauquier's letter to the Lords of Trade, June 5, 1765,¹⁰ gives an account of the discussions, mentioning Henry, but not quoting. Commissary William Robinson, writing to the Bishop of London on August 12, 1765,¹¹ says of Henry, "He blazed out in a violent speech against the Authority of parliament and the King, comparing his Majesty to a Tarquin, a Caesar, and a Charles the First, and not sparing insinuations that he wished another Cromwell would arise." The mention of Tarquin and his Brutus, both in this letter of 1765 and in that which was printed in the London newspaper of that year, seems to show that they were included in Henry's comparison, though not remembered by Tyler and Jefferson.¹²

A photograph of the whole manuscript is in the office of the *Review*.

Xbre¹³ the 4th 1764.

Decbre 1. Sail'd from Tiberoon¹⁴ for Jamaica with pasqual to whom I was Obliged to give Six and thirty pistoles.¹⁵

Dec. 6. met with a Droguer of Bul Bay¹⁶ that Caryed myself and bagage to Kingston for three pistoles.

7th. arived at Kingston and took lodgeings at the widow Breons for a pistole a week.

Jan'y. 24, 1765. Sailed from port Royal In a sloop bound to Charles-town S. Carolina and to touch at the havana.

25. the west End¹⁷ bore N W b N Dist about 10 leagues.

26. Do. bore E B N Dist about 10 leagues, lost sight thereof and steard about N W until the 30th at Sunset had sight of Cape Corientes.¹⁸

31st. at 3 afternoon Cape Corientes bore N B E Dist 3 miles. at 4 made the land tending away to Cape St. antonio,¹⁹ at 11sd. Cape bore

⁹ L. G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, I. 56; M. C. Tyler, *Patrick Henry*, p. 65.

¹⁰ Printed in Alexander H. Everett's *Life of Patrick Henry*, Sparks's *American Biography*, second ser., I. 391-392; transcript in Lib. Cong., from C. O. 5: 1331, p. 70.

¹¹ Perry, *Papers relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, p. 514.

¹² "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus", is the version given by George Bancroft, *History*, V. 277 (of original edition).

¹³ December.

¹⁴ At the southwestern extremity of Haiti.

¹⁵ A pistole was at that time about equivalent to four dollars.

¹⁶ Buff Bay is meant, a small place on the north coast of Jamaica. A drogher was a West Indian coasting vessel.

¹⁷ Of Jamaica.

¹⁸ The south cape of western Cuba.

¹⁹ The westernmost cape of Cuba.

north Dist about 6 miles; both the Capes are low and flat haveing no remarkable Elevated lands about them, but some scattering trees.

Feb'y. the 1st. at noon Cape St. antonio Bore S S E and the shoals to the Northward of the Cape N. W.

2d. at Day light began to discover the high lands to the Eastward of Cape St. antonio. at 8 in the m'g the wind Came to N N W in a squal and inadiately to N N E, a very hard gale and rain, we stood of[f] shore with Double reefd m. and f. s.²⁰

the 3d. at 4 in the m'g Stood in Shore, the Sea very high blows hard. at noon had Sight of the land, which is high, at 3 Ev'g Stood of. the weather so thick and Dirty, Did not Judge safe to Keep in with the land.

the 4th. at 2 in the m'g Stood in shore until Day light. Saw the land, then Stood of. blows very hard. wind at N. E. under a Double reefd M. S. and Jib. at 6 in the E'g handed the Jib.

the 5th. the wind East stood in for the land at 2 in the m'g; at noon the weather Clear, had sight of the high land over porta porcas.²¹ Continued to run in with the land until we Discovered a ledge of rocks which stretch to the N. E. of portaporcas, about a league of the land. at 5 Stood of shore.

Feb'y the 6, 1765. at three in the m'g Stood in shore. wind N E. at 11 made the land which was high and Cuts the Curents set very strong to windward. at 5 Ev'g Stood of, a very hard gale and high Sea.

the 7th. Stood of all night under a double reefd m. s. at 4 m'g Stood in shore under the same Sail, at 4 Ev'g saw the aforementioned high lands. we wore and lay of. the sea Excessive rough. the vessel began to take Considerably. at 10 she Strained so Much we handed the main s. and set her tribble reefd f. s.

the 8th. at 4 m'g the f. s. split in the middle from head to foot. Set the Balanced²² m. s. wind at E B N very hard indeed, head to the northward. all hands to mending the F. S. and the pump Continually a going.

the 9th. wind at East very hard. Stood in shore at m'g. at 9 bent f. s. towards Noon the weather Cleard up. Saw the land and observed 23d. 7. North latitude. the wind at E S E prety Moderate. stood of and on all night.

the 10th. at 8 m'g Saw the Bay of hunda²³ which seems to have a fine Entry. the Curents set to windward very strong. at 3 Ev'g were a brest of La Cavagnos²⁴ which seems also to have a fare Entrance. litle winds. plying to windward all night. saw several fires on shore.

the 11th. at Day light were abreast of La Maria²⁵ out of which Came several small Craft loaded with timber for the King. the wind Comeing to the Southward. at 10 m'g we had sight of the moro Castle.²⁶ at 1 Ev'g Came to an anchor after the usual seremonys of sending the Boat on

²⁰ Mainsail and foresail.

²¹ The harbor at the mouth of Rio de Puercos, some twenty miles west of Bahia Honda.

²² Meaning, apparently, balance-reefed.

²³ Bahia Honda.

²⁴ Cabañas.

²⁵ Mariel.

²⁶ Off the entrance of Havana harbor.

shore to the fort which kept us a long time; this is one of the finest harbours in the world, the moro Castle stands on a rock on the larbord side going in and the punto²⁷ oposite to it on the starbord side. the Entrance is a long neck in which two ships Can not go abrest,²⁸ when past this neck the harbour Extends itself to the right and left to hold any number of shiping of any size. ships of 900 tuns load and unload alongside the wharf. there were two 84 gun ships read[y] to launch in the Dock,²⁹ they have a very fine sawmil in which they work 24 saws at the same time, they also [have] great quantitys of timber Such as mahogony and Sedar, of the last they build all their ships, the Sol of this Island is Extremely rich and fertil but the inhabitants are too Indlent to reap the benefit therof. the town is large and regular, ful of inhabitants, the Climate is the healthiest of the west India Islands.

general oReily seems to have made other men of the spaniards here than they naturally are,³⁰ there was a general review of both regulars and militia which Could not be Distinguished one from the other, so well did the militia go thorough the Exercise, there was in all five thousand men under arms of which two thousand were regulars.

there is seventy thousand Chests of shugar made on this Island which Contain a thousd. weight Each, great quantitys of snuf, they have the finest fruit and green market here in any part of the west Indias.

this City is about two miles in circumference and Contains about 26 thousand inhabitants, the particular Commerce of the Island Consists in shugar, snuf, hides (which are rekoned very good), ginger, aloes, saseparila, tortisshe, and pearl which they have from other Islands; as to its general Commerce it is the rendezvous for all the ships, particularly from portobelo and la Vera Cruz, which return into Spain from the Indias so that there is frequently a good number of shiping in this port. while they ride here there is a fair kept on shore where they trade for immense sums; while the fleet is in the Bay provisons are very Dear on shore and mony so plenty that nothing Else is seen in the Streets hardly, the fleet sails generally from hence thourough the Channel of bahama in the month of september and is the richest in the world. the smalpox took my negroe servant here which obliges to leave him in Charge with Doctor Grahame, and hjer a white servant whom general oreily had Discharged From his service.

Saturday March the 2d, 1765. Saild from the havana at noon. wind South, weather thick and heavy, stearing N E haveing a pilot on bord, we took at this place.

²⁷ Punta del Castillo.

²⁸ The Spaniards in June, 1762, at the opening of the siege by Albemarle and Pocock, blocked the entrance by sinking three vessels there. Keppel's *Keppel*, I. 365; Fernández Duro, *Armada Española*, VII. 51.

²⁹ Probably the *Trinidad y San José*, 112, and the *San Rafael*, 80, partly destroyed on the stocks by the British at the end of their occupation (August, 1762–July, 1763) but rebuilt. Fernández Duro, VII. 114–118; Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, III. 257, 315.

³⁰ On the evacuation by the English in July, 1763, the Conde de Riera became governor-general, with Don Alejandro O'Reilly as second in command and inspector-general. An account of O'Reilly's prompt and effective reorganization of the military is given in Pezuela, *Historia de la Isla de Cuba*, III. 19–24.

Sund. 3d. at 6 this m'g had sight of the saw hill³¹ to the Eastwd of the havana; the Eastermost part therof Bore South, Distance from the land about 8 leagues.

Mondy. 4th. at Daylight no land in sight. at noon light northerly winds. tacked to the westward.

tuesday 5th. light winds. at 4 Ev'g made the land about Cape Florida.³² at 6 put about, wind N Easterly.

wednesday 6th. wind N westerly, set all sail. at 6 Ev'g made the Isac rocks³³ bareing E B S about 3 leagues Dist. at 7 put about to the westward.

thursday 7th. at 6 m'g tacked. light winds and fare weather. at 9 Ev'g made the Isac rocks again. at 11 Ev'g the wind Comeing to the Eastward Crowded all sail.

fryday 8th. wind about E N E. steering N B W. 6 Knots. a great Swel from the N. E.

Saturday 9th. light winds. saw a Sail standing to the southward. the Curenst Set to the north about 60 miles in the 24 hours until we got past the providence³⁴ then 24 miles, and next day when I imagin we were out of Channel they were slack. at noon we observed $30^{\circ} 8'$ Latitude.

Sunday 10th. at 2 m'g Came to blow very hard at S. W. Dark thick weather. at 10 sounded seeing the water alterd but no grownd at 50 f.³⁵ we Expected to have fetched Georgia this Day where the Captn. promised me to put me on shore but we found the Curenst set us far to the westward of the rekonig, and impossible to fetch it therefore made for Charlestown. this Day observed $32^{\circ} 34'$ latitud which is that of Charlestown, by which we were certain we could not fetch this place. so Made for Cape fair.³⁶ at 6 Ev'g sound 16 f. water. Course sand. at 10. 13f., fine white sand with b[1]ack spots. blows Excessive hard at W.S.W. at 11 Ev'g 11 f., black sand with Isinglass, at 12 lay too under f. s.³⁷ head in shore.

monday 11th. at one m'g sounded 11fm. at 2 saw Brakers all round us. Sounded two $\frac{1}{2}$ fm. wore imadiately and luckyly we did not touch. if we had we should have perished inevitably. we steard East of the shoals and were soon in 11f. water. From this wrun 24 miles N B E and observed $33^{\circ} 53'$ latitude which shews we were on Cape fear shoals Commonly Called the Fryingpan being one of the most Dangerous on the Coast; it blows so hard obliged to lay too under a Balanced main S. and all hands to the pump. Drifted of to 17 f. water.

tuesday 12th. Continues to blow very [hard], wind at N W. under a

³¹ Monteserrata?

³² At the southeast extremity of Florida

³³ Great Isaac and Little Isaac are rocks at the northwest of the Bahamas, near Bemini, and about 70 miles northeast of Cape Florida.

³⁴ Meaning, past the Northwest Providence Strait. Lord Adam Gordon reports, November, 1764, "In latitude 28 deg. and 30 Min. lies the North end of the great Bahama Bank, and beyond that Latitude the current will hustle you both to the Eastward and Northward, Surprizingly." Mercness, *Travels in the American Colonies*, p. 390.

³⁵ Fathoms.

³⁶ Cape Fear.

³⁷ Foresail.

Balanced M. S. Sounded at Diferent times From 17 to 21 fm. latitude obsd. $33^{\circ} 32'$ all this time out of Sight of land. at 10 Ev'g the wind began to modrate a litle. made sail to N N W. at 12 sounded 12 fm. at 1 m'g 10 fm. lay too head of shore.

wednesday 13th. at 5 m'g made sail. wind at S. W. smart breez. at 6 made the land. Distance about 4 leagues. all this coast is very low. at 8 were a brest of a place Call Beaufort. saw the Brakers on the bar³⁸ but not being acquainted we Continud to Cape lookout 12 miles farther; where we Came to an anchor at $1\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 very lookily. for at 12 it Came to blow as hard as Ever, and Continued so from S W to W N W.

this Bay is very safe. there is $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom water at the Entrance and in the Bay. underneath is the figure and the right anchoring place.³⁹

you Keep the point on the right hand, on bord going in, and youl have $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathom water. fine sand.

there is a very Dangerous shoal of the Cape which tends away S W. about 20 miles.

it Continued to blow so hard the remainder of this Day and all thursday that we Could not go on shore.

friday 15th. Set out from the vessel with my servant and portmantle on his Sholder. we walked 7 miles to where there were some whale fishers tents, and got one of them to Cary us over the Sound⁴⁰ in their boat to Beaufort. a Small village not above 12 houses, the inhabitants seem miserable, they are very lasy and Indolent, they live mostly on fish and oisters, which they have here in great plenty. this harbour is Calld topsail inlet or Cor sound. Non but small vessels Can come here there being but 13 feet water on the bar at low water. the tide does not rise above 4 feet. the litle trade that is Caryed on here Consists in terpentine, tar and pitch. the first is made by Chiping the bark of one side of the tree about 3 feet from the ground; near the rout therof they make a hole to recive the terpentine as it Distils out of the Chiped part, which is taken out with a leadle and put into barels made for that purpose which are to hold thirty one galons and one half weighing 322 pds. the Cask or barel Included. [*In margin:* its said that one Negroe will tend 3000, which will rendr about 100 Barls. terpenitin.] terpentine sels here now 8 sh'gs pr Bl. this Curency, which is Eaqual to 7 ss. philadelphia Cur'y.⁴¹ terpintine is only made in the sumer time when the heat of the sun is suficient to force it out of the tree. when rain falls they are obliged to renew the insision on the bark. otherwise the liquor would Not Distill from the tree.

there is also great quantitys of tarr and pitch raised in this part of the Country; indeed more than in any other part of america. tar requires

³⁸ The bar off Old Topsail Inlet. They seem to have anchored in a bay lying just inside Cape Lookout, on the west—"at Cape Lookout. . . . a small Harbour Landlocked from all Winds, and without it a very good road, the best and safest from the Capes of Virginia to Georgia". Governor Dobbs in 1762. *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI. 608. The coast-line has since altered greatly, but in John Collet's map of North Carolina, 1770, it is shown precisely as in our traveller's sketch-map of his haven (see next note).

³⁹ A rough sketch-map follows in the manuscript.

⁴⁰ Core Sound.

⁴¹ More exactly, 8s. North Carolina currency (= one dollar) equalled 7s. 6d. Pennsylvania currency.

a more Considerable apparatus, and much greater trouble than terpentine; they prepare a circular floor of Clay, well simented, Declining a little towards the Center in the form of an Iron sugar boyler, from the botom of this is laid a pipe of wood, the uper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches 10 feet without the circumference; under the Ends the Earth is Dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tarr as it runs; upon the floor is built a large pile of pine wood (which is generally of old fallen pines and of the branches and knotty parts) raisd Commonly to the hight of 10 or 12 feet and in the aforesaid form of a boyler, filled up with the pieces of split pine with the Ends slopeing or tending towards the basson in the Center, the whole is surrounded with a wall of Earth, leaving only a small opening at the top where the fire is first kindled. when the fire begins to burn they Cover this opening likewise to Confine the fire and hinder it from flaming out, and to leave only sufficient heat to force the tar Downwards to the floor. they temper the heat as they please, by running a Stick through the wall of Clay and giving it air or vent. in this manner the outward Extreimity of the wood burning the tar drops from the other part into the floor and is Conducted by the woodin pipe into the barrels, which are to Contain $31\frac{1}{2}$ gallons weighing 322 pds. the Cask included. this is als[o] the gauge for terpintine and pitch. this last is made by boiling it in an Iron kettle or making a hole in the Ground in which the tar is put and set on fire and burns itself into pitch.

Saturday March the 16th. 1765. got horsesses with great Difficulty for myself, servant and a guide, and rode through a Continual forest of pine trees, with narrow roads Cut in Diferent points of the Compas (it would be necessary to have one to travel in this Country) untill we Came to a good Quakers 12 miles Dist. from Beaufort, where I lay this night. he makes spirits of terpentine and rosin.

Sunday 17th Do. Departed from the quakers Early in the morning for new Burn⁴² and still the same thing today as yesterday, pine trees, In general terpentine walks, there is also oak and sipres and some sedr, there was here and there a small vilage and some litle farms Dispersd up and Down where they rais nothing but Indian Corn (of which they make their bread) and peas. the Soil all along very sandy and indifferent, the land Extremely level and Even, not the least apearance of a Small hill, nor a stone to be Seen, but sea shels in plenty, which would seem to intimate that great part of Carolina was risen by the sands thrown up by the Sea to a Certain hight and then obliged itself to retire. the roads here must be very Dangerous in stormy weather by the falling of great Dead trees. the Inhabitants are obliged by an act of assembly to Cut them when once Dead⁴³ but they are not very punctual in the Execution therof. at 5 arived at trent river fery, a Small mile over to Newburn, which is to be the Capitol of north Carolina, as being best situated for that purpose;⁴⁴ it is the most sentrical town in the province, on a point

⁴² Newburn.

⁴³ Statute of 1745, ch. 5, sects. 9, 10, 14, 24. *N. C. State Records*, XXIII, 223, 224, 226.

⁴⁴ Lieutenant-Governor Tryon, who was escorting Lord Adam Gordon through the province at just this time, and came into charge of the government by the death of Governor Dobbs on Mar. 28, writes on Apr. 1, "I spent two months in a Tour of this Province, and am determined in my opinion,

that separates the two rivers news and trent. the former runs up a Considerable way in the Country to the N. W. nearest, the latter towards the S. W. but not so far; neither of them are navigable for any else than flats or petiangres⁴⁵ above the town, much to its advantage, as all the trade is thereby Carried on in the place. Vessels of two hundd. tuns Burden Can Come C[lose] to the town loaded, but there is a swash or flat insid of ocracok barr.⁴⁶ on which there is but 9 foot water. when vessels Draw more than this quantity, they are obliged to lighten into flats and take in their goods when they are over the swash; the town is 70 miles from the Barr. the trade Consists in salt pork, some beef, Indian Corn, pitch, tarr, terpentine, spirits of terpentine, Rozin, rice, Dears skins, talow, hogs fat, mirtle wax, som tanned leather, lumber of all kinds and shingles, very good. there is plenty of saw mills in this Country set up at little Expencc. wherever there is water that they can raise to the hight of 5 feet by means of a Dam or breastworks they Erect a mill, if there is a sufficient quantity of water; the wheels are undershot about 3½ foot Diameter and 10 or 12 in length, they are allways going, as the Contry is Cover with timber such as pitch pine, read, black, and white oak (the two first are very bad wood), some walnut, sipres and sedar, they are always well supplied. there is generally a tub mil for grinding their Corn at the same Dam. In the spring of the year, there is great quantitys of herin Caught in the Diferent rivers, also shad (which we Call allose⁴⁷ in france), Drum and sturgeon; they send this fish to the westindia Islands, and the parts of the Continent where is non Caught; there grows some wheat in this province, but in small quantity, the Soil not Suiting it, their bread is generally of Indian meal. the town Consists of about 100 houses and 500 Inhabitants. there is a good Church⁴⁸ and Courthouse.⁴⁹ this place is very unhealthy in the sumertime, as is all Carolina, much afflicted with feavors, which must be owing to the lands being very low and not Cleard of the wood, and the stagnateing waters of these great rivers where there is no tide or Curent but what is occasioned by the winds. on hot Calm Days youl see a thick scum on the water, which occasions a Disagreeable stensh. at this time the fishes ly Dead on the water.

at the first settlement of Carolina (which is now Distinguished by North and South) it was granted by the King to private gentlemen (8 in number) who were Called proprietors, but it was by an act of parliam't redemanded and put under the protection of the Crown, Except the Earl of Granvilles eighth, which he still Enjoys. the other proprietors accepted of about 24000 £. the Indians back of this or these provinces are the Cherokees and Cataubas, with whom they are on a good footing, now, the Country is Intirely flat and level, 80 miles from the sea, the Carolinas is the only [province?] on the Continent subject to huricaines. oranges and olives grow well in south Caro'a, of which that the Public Business of it can be carried on nowhere with so much conveniency and advantage to far the greatest part of the Inhabitants, as at New Bern." *N. C. Col. Records*, VI. 1320; VII. 2.

⁴⁵ Piraguas.

⁴⁶ At Ocracoke Inlet, leading into Pamlico Sound.

⁴⁷ Alose.

⁴⁸ Christ Church.

⁴⁹ Acts of 1761, ch. 8. *N. C. Col. Records*, XXV. 462.

Charles town is the Capital, a very flourishing tradeing town. Indego and rice is now the great staple. its Chief produce formerly was in Bavers, which is intirely Destroyed, as well as in Canada, by the Encouragement the Indians received for killing them.

Dureing 5 Days that I stayd here we had Continual bad weather and very Cold.

Saturday march the 23d 1765. Set out from Newburn (where I eat my St. Patricks Dinner which lasted untill 4 next morning), took fery a mile from the town and Crossed News river, which is about 2 miles broad here, but full of shoals. saw several flats Coming Down with pitch and tar, Corn, shingles, etc. Came this night to Mrs. bonds fery oposit to bath town.

Do 24th. Crossd over to bath. the fery is three miles Including one mile up the Creek on which the town lies. bath is small having but litle or no trade. the vessels Can go 20 or 30 miles above the town. there are several vessels built here, and on other parts of this as well as on News river, but all small on account of the swash; the town in 80 miles from the Bar.

I went to weat on Colonel Pamer after Dinner, who is Colonel in the milita, Colector and surveyor general for this part of the province.⁵⁰ he invited me to spend the even'g with him, which I Complied with. he is very agreeable scots gentleman. Dureing three Days that made here we spent most part of the time together; the produce, and trade here, is of the same nature as at Newburn.

wednesday march the 27th 1765. Set out from bath, Crossed through forests and uncultivated lands as before to this Difference, the Soil seems to beter gradually as I Come to the norwd., and a greater mixture of oak trees than hitherto. [*In margin:* Crossed Earl granvilles southern't bounds 3 miles to the norwd. of bath, from whence it Continnes to virginia.]⁵¹ Great troops or flocks of swine which run wild in the woods and feed on the pine seeds and acorns, which is their only food. it is not surprising that their pork is not so firm or good in any sheep⁵² as to the norwd where they feed them with Corn etc. there is great plenty of Dear in this part of Country, but will soon Diminish, if they Continue Destroying as they do now, in season or out of season, male or female is all alike. I Dined this Day on venson stakes in a poor farmers house where I stopd for that purpose. bacon is the Chief suport of all the Inhabitants, when fishing is out of season. it is a Dainty Dish here tho ever so fat or rare. this night lay at Daylys fery on Roanok river.⁵³ this is the most Considerable of all the rivers Communicateing to Albemarle or Pamligouh sounds. with regard to its Extent back no body knows as yet how far it gos. it is three and four fathom Deep for 150 miles up in the Country. many ware houses and stores are along it. great part of

⁵⁰ Col. Robert Palmer, surveyor-general since 1753, member of the council 1764-1771, highly spoken of by Tryon. *N. C. Col. Records*, VII. 516, 535. He seems to have continued in office till the Revolution. In 1785 he was living in England, a Loyalist. Egerton, *Royal Commission on the Loyalists*, pp. 259, 393.

⁵¹ Lord Granville's property embraced all of the province that was north of 35° 34' N.

⁵² Shape.

⁵³ A few miles below the present Plymouth, N. C.

the produce of the Country about this river in the back part is sent to virginia, where they meet with a beter market than they Could Expect in any part of their own province, on acct. of its bad navigation. it is Computed that 6000 hhds. of tobacco are sent from this part, to Petersbourg on James's river, virginia. there Comes a Considerable quantity of wheat and Corn Down this river, and about 3000 hhds. tobacco which is shipped at Edenton. the Soil along the Sides of this river is rekoned fertil and rich, which is owing to its yearly overflow, it has that in Common with the Nile In Egipt. but it is a Dangerous neighbour when in that state, for it sometimes rises 40 feet perpindicular and Carys Every thing on its way, before it. it Covers great part of the adjacent Country as it is so very flat and level. the floods or freshes are generally in the End of septe'r and beg'ning of octob'r. there are plenty of Iron mines in this part of the province but not yet worked; there is a very rich black lead mine In Bute County, near halifax, on Rogers mill Creek but not yet open'd. the lands back of the first of mountains, what they Commonly Call the blue ridge, are very rich, they are Inhabited by the scotch Irish, Germans, and Dutch, which were sent thither to Serve as a bar'ere betwixt the lower settlers and the Indians; this, however, turned out otherwise, luckily for the poor wretches, that were sent there to be butcherd; necessity, and the great Distance from any seaport, or town, obliged them to be industrious in rising all their necessaries within themselves, and at the same time to be watchful of the Indians and secure their litle habitations with palisadoes and out works; the Soil answerd beyond their Expectations, in So much that it is at present the plentifullest part of america. they have all sorts of Catle, grain, roots, and fruits, butter, Chees, and beer of their own brewing. they manufacture their own aparel and have Everything In short, Except salt and Iron: they Drive great Drovers of Catle to the lower settlements, also butter, Chees and hemp which they Dispose of to advantage and a Considerable quantity of flower.

friday march the 20th 1765. I was obliged to remain heere two Days for want of horses and at length Crossed the river and walked to Cashia fery,⁵⁴ Crossed it and went to a farmers where I dined on good fat Bacon, greens, and Indian bread and had good sider to Drink. after Dinner he hierd me to horses to mr Campbels on showan river 12 miles above Edenton for whom I had a letter of recomand'n.⁵⁵ [*In margin:* arrived at mr Campbels the 30th.] this gentleman is Justice of the peace, speaker of the assembly, in this Country, and a man generally Esteemed, and of the greatest property of any man in this part of the province; he received me with the greatest Civility possible, and notwithstanding all I could do, would not let me go from his house for a fortnight Dureing which time he accompanied me to Different places; his house is pleasantly situated on the south side of showan river on a fine hil or eminence which [*is*] a rarity in this Country. the river is about two miles broad here altho 100 ms. from the Bar, and large sloops and schoo[ners] go up 50 miles above this place; the river seperates into two

⁵⁴ Across Cashie River.

⁵⁵ John Campbell of Bertie, member of the assembly 1754-1760, 1769-1775, speaker 1754-1755, member of the first four provincial congresses, 1774-1776; "the most eminent trader in this province", says Governor Dobbs in 1760. *N. C. Col. Recs.*, VI, 286.

branches. Called Nattoway and Meharrin,⁵⁶ this last is navigable far up in the Country. the vessels that go up it brings great quantitys of Corn, some Wheat and staves, which they Cary to the norward to Different parts. the Difficulty of the Bar makes all these Comodities sel Cheaper than else where; there is great quantitys of fish Catched In this river, especially herin and others as before mentiond.

wednesday april the 3d. Crossed the river with mr. Campbel to see his soninlaw Mr BrownRigg, an agreable gentleman.⁵⁷ in the afternoon walked out to his saw mills which are on a Creek Communicating to the river. this evening went to see the herin fishing. in an hours time they Catched about 100 barels with quantity of Rock, white perche and several other sorts.

april the 5th 1765. went with these two gentlemen to Edenton which was formerly the Capital of North Carolina. it is pleasantly situated on a point betwixt two Creeks Communicateing to showan river. there was a Dozen vessels, briggs, sloops and schooners here takeing in pork, pitch, tar, terpentine, wheat, and Corn etc. this town is not quit so large as newburn. it is looked on to be very sickly in the summertime. the land from the town on the north side the river, Down to Curatuck sound, is very good, produces quantities of wheat, Corn, pork, and very good passurage. the bar hurts this place much. the back settlers on the river Roanoke and other places send their produce to Charlestown in south Carolina, and to petersburg, on James river, virg'a, where they get a beter price for them than here or in any porte in the province, the Chief of which are Cape fear, Newburn, etc. the former Governor mr Dobs resided at Cape fear, which was very unhandy to the Inhabitants, its being at the Extremity of the province; they were Obliged to atend the Courts there, but the present lieutenantgov., Colonel tryan, intends to reside at Newburn, which is indeed the most suitable place. they are got into a method hereabouts, of makeing what they Call green tar, which is this; they Chip the pine trees of their bark about 8 feet from the root Downwards on which the terpintine falls imediately into the Chiped part, when it is well imbibed therewith they slice of the wood as far as it is imbibed and burn this in kills as the former. the tar is much thinner and beter. there is a bounty of 4 s. pr barl. on this kind of tar which is great encouragement.

by Computation, there is in this province from 25 to 30 thousand white taxables, or men from the age of 16 to 60 — whom are musterd 4 times a year as militia; there but very few if any rich people. their fortunes Consist generally in lands, which are for the most part uncultivated, and Consequently of no advantage or value for the present, but the Inhabitants augment fast. this province is the azilum of the Convicts that have served their time in virginia and maryland. when at liberty they all (or great part) Come to this part where they are not Known and settle here. it is a fine Country for poor people, but not for the rich.

april the 7th. went to halifax on Roanok river, where there was a

⁵⁶ Nottoway and Meherrin.

⁵⁷ Richard Brownrigg of Chowan, member of the assembly 1770-1771, d. 1771: "Mr and Mrs. Brownrigg, whom you will soon find two of the best people in the world". H. E. McCulloh to Iredell, in McRee, *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, I. 30. "Rd. Brownriggs Saw Mill" is laid down on Collet's map.

Court held, where all the inhabitants of the adjacent Country Come, to Decide their lawsuits and other Differences, this was formerly a town of Some note, but is Dwindling away fast. the 8th Came back to mr. Cambels, who tels me that this province and south Carolina particularly abounds in nitre. [*In margin:* the extent of both Carolinas from S to N. is from 31° to $36^{\circ} 30'$ latitud., its breadth to the Indian nations about 300 miles.] there are 32 Countys⁵⁸ in north Carolina, which are very large, they have Each their Court house, where they Assemble 4 times a year; the General Courts are held where the Governor resides.

aprl. 12. went to mr Brownriggs where I stayed three Days to strengthen two horses that I was obliged to buy, tho in very bad order, as is all this Country Cattle in the winter time, haveing nothing Else to live on but the moss that grows on the trees in the woods.

april the 15th. Set out from mr Brownriggs, lay at mr Granburys,⁵⁹ to whom he gave me a letter; he is a farmer in good circumst's. this stage was 15 miles

the 16th. from mr Granburys to sufolk 18 miles, a small town on the head of Nansenum river,⁶⁰ non but small Craft can Come to it. I Crossed the Carolina and virginia bounds 8 miles from Granburys. there [are] 5 or 6 stores or properly speaking shops here, about 50 or 60 other houses, a prety Church, and Courthouse. this place is remarkable unhealthy in the sumer season, subject to feavors. the Country from mr. Granburys begins to look more inhabited.

april the 17th. Set out for portsmouth which is 30 miles. Dined at Robertses ordinary. arrived at portsmouth at 6 in the Evening. the Country along something more open and Inhabited, but still very thick in wood, about 7 miles from Robertses Crossed the End of the Dismal swamp. this is a Considerable tract of land buried under water. there is a lake in the middle. this swamp is a harbour for all sorts of wildd beasts, such as Bears, panthers, wolfs, and great quantity of serpents.

Portsmouth is situated on the west Side of Elizabeth river, oposite to Norfolk, which is on the East side and Capitale of a County of its name. Portsmouth is but lately settled. it has the advantage of norfolk haveing Deeper water of its side. ships of any Burden Can Come Close [to] the wharfs of which there are several very Convenient. norfolk on the other hand has been longer settled. it is the most Considerable town for trade and shiping In virginia. this harbour is very safe for ships of any Burthen. this is the only part of virginia where they build any thing of ships. the[y] have all the Conveniencies imaginable for that purpose. there is a fine ropery here, there are plenty of masts of all proportions to be had, and great quantitys are shiped of for all parts, Especially for the havana where they have a Contract for this article. there is a Smart trade Caried on from Norfolk to the wes[t] India Islands. their exports Consists in pork, Corn, flower, Butter, Cheese, Candles, hogs fat, tallow, ham, Bacon, lumber of all kinds, shingles, Masts, Yards, and naval stores; hemp is very much encouraged now, in virginia, and grows to great perfection. Iron they have great plenty of, it is brought Down here from maryland, and sold at the rate of 10 ps.⁶¹ p. tun.

⁵⁸ Twenty-six.

⁵⁹ Josiah Granberry, vestryman of St. Paul's parish. *N. C. Recs.*, VI. 241.

⁶⁰ Suffolk, Va., on Nansemon River, described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 104-105, and in J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, II. 96-98.

⁶¹ Pounds; its price in England at the time was about £7.

that is pig Iron. I look on this place to be one of the properest on the Continent for a King's port. as to the harbour non Can be beter, and the Country is well stoked with timber, they Can make their own Cordage, they have plenty of Iron and all Kinds of navall stores. this harbour is at the Entrance of the Bay, handy for all vessels going in or Comeing out, and Is a Centrical place on the Continent. the mouth of Elizabeth is on Jameses river, which gos very far in the Country (of this here-after). Elizabeth river is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile broad betwixt the two towns (there is three fery boats Employed here) and seperates into Eastern branch, and Elizabeth. about two miles below Portsmouth on the Same side, is another branch Call'd the western branch, on which they build ships also. the water at Norfolk is bad, but very good at Portsmouth. both places are Chiefly Inhabited by scotch, all presbiterians and altho they are the most bigoted set of people in the world, they have no house of worship of their own. there is a Church in Each place, of the English Establishment;⁶² from hence I wrote to mr Mifflin in philadelphia⁶³ for a suply of money being short, and as I am obliged to weat his answer, I went to Different parts of the Country by way of amusement In the meantime.

april the 10th. Dined today with andrew sprowl Esqr. the headman of Portsmouth.⁶⁴ he lives in a pleasant place seperated by a Creek from the town, his house gos by the name of gasporte.⁶⁵ he has a very fine wharf before his Door where the Kings ships generally heave Down. this gentleman is a merchant of great reputation.

the 20th Do. Dined with mr Guilchrist⁶⁶ at norfolk, who Introduced me to all the people of note there, which are, Colonel tucker,⁶⁷ mr Muter, Doctor Campbel,⁶⁸ mr hutchison, mr Jameson,⁶⁹ and several others. all these gentlemen are In trade. there being a Court at williamsburg, which begun the 10th of airpil and holds 24 Days, I set out for thence.

airpil the 24th. Set out for williamsburg In Company with andrew

⁶² Trinity Church in Portsmouth, and St. Paul's in Norfolk.

⁶³ Samuel Mifflin, who figures more largely in later portions of this diary, was a merchant in Philadelphia, and a justice of the city court there; Governor Thomas Mifflin was his cousin's son.

⁶⁴ Some Tory letters, 1775, of Andrew Sprowel are in *Va. Mag. of Hist.* XIV. 386-390.

⁶⁵ Gosport. In 1776 Gosport and all Sprowel's houses were burned by the Americans in retaliation for Lord Dunmore's burning of Norfolk. *William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine*, XV. 19. He and his family left Virginia in Dunmore's fleet. Force, *Am. Archives*, fifth ser., I. 152.

⁶⁶ John Gilchrist, merchant of Norfolk, accused of a bit of anti-British violence in 1766. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI. 167.

⁶⁷ Col. Richard Tucker (d. 1767), member of the House of Burgesses in 1752 and 1753.

⁶⁸ Dr. Archibald Campbell, a Scotsman, afterward a Tory. There is an account of him and his Norfolk property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 131-133. See also *Am. Archives*, fourth ser., IV. 86, 87, 105.

⁶⁹ Neil Jameson, a noted merchant and afterward a noted Tory, who went away with Dunmore in 1776. *Ibid.*, IV. 343-348 (letters from him), and fifth ser., I. 152; *American Manuscripts in Royal Institution*, I. 136. There is a full account of him and his property in *Second Report of Archives of Ontario*, pp. 630-634, 646, 721, 1311-1313.

sprowl Esqr. and several of the Norfolk Gentlemen. left my horses at the tavern where I lodge; we took boat and Crossed over to hampton where we Dined. this fery is 12 miles across. hampton is a small town of very litle trade, but the Navall and Colectors offices being here makes it more Considerable than it otherwise would be. it has no harbour. there is a bar Crosses it about 2 miles Dist. from the town, outside of which, ships that are bound up or Down Jameses river (on the North side of which this town is placed) Come to an anchor and take their Expeditions. small Craft Can go over this Bar and ly Close to the town.

from hampton to york 28 miles. here we lay. this is a fine situation and a very prety litle town Inhabited by some of the genteelst people In virginia, who have some very prety buildings here. it is on an Elevated spot of grownd by the side of the river to which it gives its name, on which it has a beautifull prospect. ships of any burthen Can Come here, and 40 miles farther up. there was at this time three large vessels rideing of here. this and hampton road are the general rendevous for the homeward bound ships. in war time there are on such occasions 100 sail of shiping to be seen here. the Country about here is very agreeable. there is a small town on the oposite side of the river Called Gloster, of no great note. its situation is also very pleasant. there was a great Deal of Company at our tavern this night, several Capns. of ships, looking for freight, others gathering their funds.

april the 25th. set out Early for williamsburg, 12 miles Distn. fine road and pleasant Country. at 9 arived at this Capitol, which at a Distance looks like a large town, but it is far from it and very Irregular haveing only one street which Can be Called so, which makes a very good appearance. it is very s[p]acious, has at one End the Capitolle, a very good building in the form of an Each.⁷⁰ the Court is held in one wing on the first floor, the assembly room is in the other wing on the Same floor, the Councill and Comitee Chambers are upstairs on the first story. oposite to this building at the further End of the street Is a very fine Colege, which makes a grand appearance.⁷¹ halfway betwixt these Builds. is the Church on one side the street and the powder magazeen on the other. the Governors house is towards the Colege on its left a litle back from the main street. it is a Small but neat building, with a Cupula on the top.

on our arival we had great Difficulty to get lodgings but thanks to mr sprowl I got a room at mrs. vaubes's tavern,⁷² where all the best people resorted. I soon got acquainted with severals of them, but particularly with Colonel Burd.⁷³ sir peton skiper,⁷⁴ Capt. Russel,⁷⁵ Capt. le foré, and

⁷⁰ Meaning, an H.

⁷¹ The College of William and Mary

⁷² The tavern kept by Mrs. Jane Vobe (information from Dr. Lyon G Tyler).

⁷³ Col. William Byrd the third (1728-1777), on whose dissipated character see Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America*, II 328-329, and Bassett (ed.), *Writings of Col. William Byrd*, pp lxxxvii-lxxxviii

⁷⁴ Sir Peyton Skipwith, seventh baronet (d. 1803), who spent his life in Virginia. A gay letter of his is in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, XXV 190.

⁷⁵ Either that Capt. William Russell, of the Fairfax County militia, of whose conduct in the French and Indian War Governor Dinwiddie speaks so ill (*Letters to Washington*, ed. S. M. Hamilton, I, 267), or Capt. William Russell

others, which I soon was like to have had reason to repent, for they are all professed gamesters, Especially Colonel Burd, who is never happy but when he has the box and Dices in hand. this Gentleman from a man of the greatest property of any in america has reduced himself to that Degree by gameing, that few or nobody will Credit him for Ever so small a sum of money. he was obliged to sel 400 fine Negroes a few Days before my arival. there were many sets made at me to get me in for the box but I had the good look⁷⁶ to Keep Clear of it, but Could not avoid playing some rubers at whilst notwithstanding my aversion to it.

there are two generall Courts held at this Capital of virginia Yearly, the one beginning on the 10th aipril, and holds 24 Days, the other on the 10th octob'r and holds 24 Days also. at these Courts they take Cognisance of all Suits and Causes whatsoever: there are besides these two Courts of over and terminer at which Criminall afaires are Examined. the[y] have besides these, County and Burough Courts which hold monthly in the Diift. Countys and Bur's at the County Courts Examine all Causes and when the party's Dont agree they apeal to the General Court. the Burough Courts are for all afairs under 20 pounds value and Can go no farther. there Can be no Corporal punishment Inflicted on white people at any of the Inferior Courts. this is done by the superior Court at williamsburg.

aipril the 28th. I have been here three Days and am heartily sick of it. this morning hired a Chair and took a ride to Jameses City formerly the Capital of the province.⁷⁷ In Company with one mr Christy from baltymore In maryland who Is a looker on here as well as myself.⁷⁸ he is a merchant in the aforesaid place and Came to virginia to see the Country. Jamesestown is situated on a peninsula on the nort[h] side of Jameses or Powhatan river, 42 miles above its mouth; it Consists of about 70 houses. the Seat of government was here formely but was Caryed to willamsburg on account of the unhealthyness of this place. some ships anchor of the town. after Dinner we Came back to williamsburg; there was a great number of people from all parts of the province and also the adjoining provinces, for this is time for Carying on business and settling maters with Correspondents. I supose there might be 5 or 6000 people here Dureing the Courts. it is Computed that the province Contains at present 130,000 taxables, from 16 to 60, that is to say the white men and slaves, the white men amount to 60,000 which is the militia body. they are musterd four times yearly. those that are absent from the generall musters without a leagal Cause are fined 10 shs., from private musters 5 shs. these are the laws but seldom put in Execution. never was a more Disagreable place than this at present. In the Day time people hurying back and forwards from the Capitoll to the taverns, of Fincastle, in 1776 colonel of the Thirteenth Virginia Regiment. Afterward however he was colonel of the Fifth Virginia Regiment, served throughout the Revolution, and was made brigadier-general of Virginia militia. He married Patrick Henry's sister. Captain Le Foret seems to have been a connection of Colonel Byrd, and a Barbadian.

⁷⁶ Luck.

⁷⁷ Jamestown.

⁷⁸ Probably James Christie, whose prosecution for Toryism in 1775 is exhibited in *Maryland Archives*, XI. 44-52, and, under the name of "James C——", in Eddis's *Letters from America*, pp. 218, 228-229.

and at night, Carousing and Drinking In one Chamber and box and Dice in another, which Continues till morning Commonly. there is not a publick house in virginia but have their tables all bated with the boxes, which shews the Extravagant Disposition of the planters; there are many of them who have very great Estates, but are mostly at loss for Cash. they live very well haveing all the necessaries on their Estates in great plenty. Madeira wine and punch made with Jamaica rum Is their Chief Drink. there are no large towns in this province, by reason of the Convenience of its many navaiguable rivers, by which ships go up to all parts of it to the planters Doors: the Chief of those reside Mostly on the Borders of James and York rivers which is the best soil for tobacco Especially the Sweet sented which is so much Esteemed in England, where they keep it for their own use, or what they Call home Consumption. the other sort Called aranoacke, is Exported to holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany.

the Common way of traffic here, is by bartering one Commodity for another, for which reason Coin is scarce. their Common Curreny is paper, which it has in Common with the other provinces.

Notwithstanding the Great plenty of Excelent timber and Naval stores in virginia, yet they build but very few ships, altho the Country is one Continued harbour after Enttring the Chessapeake Bay between the Capes henry and Charles.

the produce of the Soil is hemp, Indian Corn, flax, silk, Cotton, and great quanty of wild grapes, but tobacco is the staple Commodity of virginia; there is now a very Considerable bounty on hemp, from the Colonies, which makes many people quit the tobacco (which is now very low in England) to raise hemp. how that will answer time will tell.

the air in virginia Depending very much on the Winds is of various temperaments, for those from the North or N. W. are Extremely sharp and piercing while the S. and S. E. are hazy and sul[t]ry. the winter in this Country is Dry and Clear; the snow falls in great quantities, but seldom lies above a day or two; and the frost tho very keen is seldom of any long duration. the spring is something Earlyer than in England; may and June are pleasant; July and august sultry: September is noted for prodigious showers of rain.

towards the coast the land is low, and for an 100 m. back hardly a hill or stone to be seen. the Inhabitants are very Courteous and hospitable. strangers are allways welcome and genteelly treated by them, which is a raison why the taverns are extravagantly Dear.

Virginia is Divided into 25 Counties and in these are 54 parishes,⁷⁹ 30 or 40 of which are suplyed with ministers and to each parish belongs a Church, with Chapels of Eas in such of them as are of large extent. In this Colony are only 2 presbyterian and 3 quaker meetings. the prevailing religion is the protestant, no romans allowed. the Countys are as follows, namely, Norfolk, princess Ann, Nansemond, Isle of Weight, Surry, henrico, Prince George, prince Charles, James County,^{79a} York, Warwick, Elizabeth, New Kent, King and Queens County, Midlessex, Essex or rapahanock, Richmond, Stafford, westmoreland, lancaster, Northumberland, Accomack, and Northampton.

⁷⁹ There were 55 counties in Virginia at this time, and about 80 parishes. The number of Presbyterian meetings was also, of course, greater than is stated below.

^{79a} Meaning, Charles City County and James City County.

the revenue from tobacco in Great Britain is esteemed to be about three hund'd thousand pd. sterling per annum. and the Greater part of the profits of exported tobacco Comes to the merchants, which brings nearly as great a sum every Year into the Kingdom, the whole weight falling on the planter, who is kept Down by the lowness of the original price and the Ext[r]avagance of the Charges.

how advantageous must this article be to Great Britain, for which the rest of Europe, Nearly, pays her ready money, besides 200 large vessels and a proportionable number of Seamen, which are occupied in this trade; from England, the virginians take every article for Convenience or ornament which they use, their own manufactures not being worth mentioning. this Colony has Exported some Years 63 th'd lhds. tobacco, which was the greatest, and at other times, not above 30 th'd has been exportd. the medium of the two, which is about 46 th'd lhds., is the quantity generally Exported. the number of Convicts and Indented servants imported to virginia [is] amazing, besides the numbers of Dutch and German which is also Considerable.

the Virginia Capes are the two headlands which form the Entrance of the great bay of Chesapeake, the Southern Cape henry and the northernmost Cape Charles. Chesapeake is a large Bay, along which both provinces of virginia and Maryland are situated. it begins at the above Capes and runs up 180 miles N. B. E. it is said to be 18 miles broad at the mouth, and 7 m. over at the bottom, which [is] above haltimore in Maryland. Into it fall several large naviguable rivers from the western shore, and a few smaller streams from the peninsula that Divides the Bay from the ocean, which is Commonly Called the Eastern shore.

Stayed at williamsburg until the 14th, when, mr. Christy and others, we set out to the Norfolk paket boat which lay oposite to hog Island on James river about 3 mile dist. from the City; here we all lay at a tavern, and next morning shiped our provisions, and baggage, and set sail.

May the 15th. the river is about 3 miles broad all along Down to Norfolk and several banks of sand here and which the pilots must be well acquainted with; large vessels can go up as far as City [Point(?)] where they generally ly. the general stores or ware houses are at petersbourg, where all the tobacco made up the Country is sent too, as also what is sent from the back parts of north Carolina. most of the great planters reside about Petersburg and blandford.⁸⁰

May the 16th. arrived at 4 in the morning at Norfolk. Could not See much of the river Coming, being night. there are two pakets, schooners of about 30 tons, which go twice a week to Williamsburg and back to norfolk.

the 17th. Stayed at norfolk (my lodgings are in portsmouth the situation being more agreable, the water much beter,). Dined with Colonel tucker, a very Clever old Gentleman. went Down to the Bay side with a good Company of Gentlemen and Ladys a seine hawling, where we Caught a great quantity of fish. the[re] was a Kings fregat lying at anchor at Cape henry, Capt Morgan,⁸¹ who was stationed here to examin all vessels homward or outward, with an Entent to put a stop to their trade with highspaniola and all other french Islands. there are

⁸⁰ Close by Petersburg.

⁸¹ The *Hornet*, Capt. Jere. Morgan. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XXI. 163-165.

men of war and frigates stationed all along the Continent for the same purpose; it is said the government proposes to prohibit Distilling of molasses, which will be a great stroke [to] the Colonys if they really Do.

the 10th Do. went with another set of Company from portsmouth to see a ship launshed on the western Branche. as we were going along, I in a single Chaire, my horse took fright at somthing and galoped of the road into a field where there was a quantity of stumps of trees one of which overturned my Chaire. the horse going as fast as his heels Could carry him, I was pitched head foremost on another stump, which Cut my head and bruised my left shouldre very much. the horse Continued until he Brok the Chair to pieces. one of the Company took me in a Chair and put me Down at my lodgings. was blooded twice that Evening, notwithstanding the fever took me and held me three days, but by Doctor Purssels help I was soon well.

May the 20th. havein[g] received two hundred pounds from Colonel tucker by order of mr. Mifflin. I set out for Williamsburg on my way to the Norward. as I was Crossing the fery from Norfolk to hampton I Saw three large ships and a brig coming by fort George, which is on point Comfort 3 miles from hampton. this was a pretty good fort formerly, but is now quite abandoned, the walls all fallen to pieces and the guns buryed in the sand. the ships that Come into James river stear from Cape henry for this point and Come Close to it, the Channel obliging them thertoo.

I was obliged to hire a Chair [at] hampton, not being able to ride, my left arm and shoullder paind me so. lay at a tavern half way to York.

May the 30th. Set out Early from halfway house in the Chair and broke fast at York. arived at williamsburg at 12, where I saw three Negroes hanging at the galous for haveing robbed Mr. Waltho⁸² of 300 ps. I went immediately to the assembly which was seting, where I was entertained with very strong Debates Concerning Dutys that the parlement wants to lay on the american Colonys, which they Call or Stile stamp Dutys.⁸³ Shortly after I Came in one of the members stood up and said he had read that in former times tarquin and Julius had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and he Did not Doubt but some good american would stand up, in favour of his Country, but (says he) in a more moderate manner, and was going to Continue, when the speaker of the house rose and Said, he, the last that stood up had spoke treason, and was sorey to see that not one of the members of the house was loyal Enough to stop him, before he had gone so far. upon which the Same member stood up again (his name is henery) and said that if he had afronted the speaker, or the house, he was ready to ask pardon, and he would shew his loyalty to his majesty King G. the third, at the Expence of the last Drop of his blood, but what he had said must be attributed to the Interest of his Countrys Dying liberty which he had at heart, and the heat of passion might have lead him to have said something more than he intended, but, again, if he said any thing wrong, he beged the speaker and the houses pardon. some other Members stood up and backed him, on which that afaire was dropped.

May the 31th. I returned to the assembly today, and heard very hot

⁸² Nathaniel Walthoe, clerk of the council.

⁸³ Concerning Henry's celebrated speech here reported, see the introduction prefixed to this document.

Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1705, II.

Sunday June the 9th [1705] from port Royal to hoes fery on Patowmak, 18 miles.¹ this is one of the finest rivers on the Continent: admiral Braddock went up it as far as alexandria with his whoie fleet after his Defeat at fort william henery, in Canada. this river seperates the two provinces of Virginia and Maryland. it is about 3 miles broad here. I Crossed this fery and Dined at the maryland fery.² Set out from thence³ for Mr. hunters, missionary, where I remain'd ail next Day and night. Mr. hunter is a Jesuit and superior of the Mission in this part of the Country.⁴ There are four Clergy men belongs and four houses like this in the province the fathers go about the Different parts to atend the Dispersed Catholiques. Charles County has more of the Cathol. religion than any other but are poor in general. Lord Baltimore when he had the grant of maryland was himself one, but his unworthy Desendants have abondoned his principles therefore the poor Catholiques have lost most of their privileges. they were very much treatend in the begining of the last war. father hunter tells me there are about 10,000 Catholiques still in the Colony. he has generally from 800 to a th'd at his Sundays mass.

June the 11th. from mr. hunters to portobacco town, 2 m. about 20 houses. from hence to Piscataway⁵ 16 m. much such another place as the last. Dined here. there are small Creeks from patowmak river to Each of these place on which small sloops Com to them. Some merchants have stores or shops here ful of all Sorts of Dry goods which they sell at an intolarable Dear rate. on my arival in maryland, I thought there was something p'asanter in the Country than in Virginia, it is not a Continual flat as the latter, there is a greater variety, and fine prospects from the riseings, which the other has not in the parts that I Came thorough. the land seems beter Cultivated and settled. the roads are not so sandy.

¹ Matthias Point. It is hardly necessary to point out the errors in the next sentence, respecting "Admiral" Braddock.

² Near the present Port Tobacco, Md.

³ *I.e.*, from the Maryland end of the ferry over the Potomac, some eight miles below Port Tobacco, in Charles County.

⁴ Father George Hunter, S. J. (1713-1770), "missionarius in Porto Baccha", had come out to Maryland in 1747, and since 1756 had been superior of the Jesuits in Maryland. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Text, II. 692-693. In view of the data he gives the diarist, it is of interest to read the general report he was at this time preparing, on Catholicism in Maryland, and which he sent to his provincial under date of July 23. *Ibid.*, Documents, I. 335-338. Father Hunter's residence is described in J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour*, II. 170.

⁵ On Piscataway Creek, the mouth of which is nearly opposite Mount Vernon.

from Piscatoway to mr. Diggses, 12 m.⁶ this is a Gentleman of the Roman Catholique Religion, and much respected In the Country by Every one that Knows him. he has a Considerable fortune. Mr. Thomas Diggs his Brother is a Jesuit.⁷ he lives with him and at the same time Does religious Duty all round in this part of the Country, he Certainly is an honor to his religion. he is a very respectable persson in Every respect, amiable in the Eyes of all that are acquainted with him. makes those that are in his Company happy. he is a learned man and has seen much of the world.

June the 12th. from Mr. Diggses to Marlborough the Capital of Prince Georges County.⁸ here I Dined and after Dinner went to see tobacco Inspected at the ware house and saw some of the bright couloured tobacco which sels So Dear in foreign markets. it is of a light yelow Coulour, and is as much Esteemed as the virginia Sweet Sented: it grows but in particular Soils. the Inhabitants call it bright tobacco. this litle town is the senter of p'asures in maryland. they have assemblys here all the year rownd: it is situated on patuxent river. Non but snall barques Can Come to it which is suficient to Cary of its Produce. [*In margin:* four miles from Marlboroug I Crossed patux't river fery, at a p'ace called mount pleasant.]⁹ the Inhabitants of maryland go very much on farming. Prince Georges County is Inhabited by the best people in Maryland. marlborough is 15 miles from Piscatoway. from hence to hords ord'y 10 mi'es. here I lay.

June the 13th. from hords ord'y to london town, 15 m.¹⁰ this is a very Small place not above a Doz'n houses. it is on what the Inhabitants Call South river but really North river Communicating to the great bay. fine Country as I Came along. after Dinner Crossed the south river fery [*In margin:* this fery is a mile broad] and to annopolis 4 miles. this is the capital of maryland, a pret'y litle town, Beautifully situated on a rise in grownd beside the river severn. Commun'cateing to the Bay. ships of any Burthen Can Come up this river, and Could formerly Come Close to the town into a little mo'd or Bassen, which is in the Center of the town, but this Bassen is almost filled with Dirt for want of a little Care. however the harbour is so good otherwise that the ships Dont feel any great inconvenience from that loss. I was not above an hour at the tavern when Joseph Galoway Esq'r¹¹ Came to enquier for me. my good friend mr. Christy¹² wrote to him from williamsburg Concerning me. We suped together at the tavern and next Day I went to Dine with him. after Dinner we went to the Court which was then seting: here my friend Introduced me to most of the

⁶ Ignatius Digges, of Melwood.

⁷ Father Thomas Digges, S. J. (1710-1805), a native of Maryland, missionary there since 1742, superior before Father Hunter.

⁸ Upper Marlborough, on the western branch of the Patuxent.

⁹ Near the present Bayard, Md.

¹⁰ On the south side of South River.

¹¹ The celebrated Pennsylvania magnate and lawyer (1729-1803), born in Maryland, speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly 1766-1774, member of the first Continental Congress, Loyalist. Life by E. H. Baldwin (Philadelphia, 1902).

¹² James Christie, of Annapolis; see the first installment of this journal, note 78.

gentlemen, and particularly to the atorny general and Chief Justice.¹³ we spent the remainder of the Court time (which was till the 18) very Chearfully, there was a large and agreable Company at my tavern, where we had nothing but feasting and Drinking, after the Kings health, the virginia assembly, and then Damnation to the Stamp act and a great Deal to that purpose in fine we scarcee used to Go to bed sober.

June the 10th. went with J. Galloway to his Brothers at tulip hill on west river, a very fine situation.¹⁴ Nothing Can be Equal to the Civilities I received from these Gentlemen, this place is 12 miles from the town, there is great plenty of wheat and Indian Corn raised in this part of the Country.

June the 20th. we went to a fishing party out in the Bay, where we Caught a prodigious quantity of roks which is a fine fish.

Do. the 21st. Came back to town.

the 22d. Crossed the severn (which is about 2 miles broad) and weated on the governor in Company with both Galloways, he lives about 6 m. from town where he has bought a farm and is building a prety box of a house on the Bay side, which he Calis white ha'l.¹⁵ he is hut lieutenant governor, the proprietor¹⁶ being governor, he formally had been in the army, he is a batchelor about 45 y's old, a very agreable senible gentleman, wee Came to town after Dinner on Conditions that I should return shortly and spend some time with his honour, which I promised with pleasure, for I liked his Company much.

June the 23d. Set in Comp'y with J. Galloway, Esqr. for Baltimore town. Broke fast at the widow rights, 15 m. at noon arived at patapasco ferry,¹⁷ where we met with some ladys and gentlemen that were going to a feast aboard a ship that was lying at anchor in the river, with several others, we profited of the opertunity and went with them, it is Customary for all ships that Come to the Country to take tobacco on freight home, to give a Dinner to which they generally invite the planters and familys, Especially those who freight tobacco on board, who take Care to tell of it in their Cups, I've shiped so much says one I've shiped so much says another, and then a Dispute would rise who shiped moste, which would have turned serious at last if somebody very lukily had not spoke of the stamp Dutys, which altered the Conversation immediately, then was they Daming their souls if they would pay and Damn them but they would fight to the last Drop of their blood before they would Consent to any such slavery. In short the aproche of night finished the feast and wee went with part of the Comp. to

¹³ The attorney-general was Edmund Key (d. 1766). *Maryland Magazine of History*, V. 106; *Maryland Archives*, XIV. 128. The chief justice of the provincial court was John Brice (1714-1766), of Annapolis. *Md. Archives*, XIV. 216; Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History*, pp. 357-359.

¹⁴ Near Gallways, Md.; the home of Samuel Galloway. It is described and pictured in J. M. Hammond, *Colonial Mansions of Maryland and Delaware*, pp. 138-143.

¹⁵ It is described and pictured in Lady Edgar's *A Colonial Governor in Maryland*, pp. 188-104, 245, and in Hammond, pp. 77-87. The governor mentioned was of course Lient-Col. Horatio Sharpe (1718-1760), governor 1753-1760.

¹⁶ Frederick, sixth Lord Baltimore.

¹⁷ See J. D. Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I. 371.

baltimore, which is Considerable for the short time since its first Establishment, which is owing to its proximity with the many Iron mines, and works in its Invirons, the situ'on is far from being agreeable, it is at the foot of a hil fronting to the Southward, a Sandy Soil which makes it very hot in the Sumertime. it is not near as healthy as anapolis. the ships Cant Come within a mile of the town. here I met my good friend Mr. Christy who accompanied us the 24th to Charles Carol Esq'r,¹⁸ about three miles from town, where he has Considerable Iron works. wee went to see them but unfortunately the furnais was not in blast. the mines that belong to these works are Considerable and abundant in Iron. they belong to five Gentlemen and are at present worth 500 ps. per annum to Each of [them] altho in its infancy.¹⁹ there are great numbers of mines about this part of the Country some of which are Coper and very rich in apearance but no[t] wrought.

Mr. Carol treated us with all the Civility Imaginable. wee staid here all the 24th.

June the 25th. returned to anapolis, Mr. Christy with us.

Do. 26th. went to Marilbro Court where there was a Surprising Number of People. Dined at the tavern in a large Company, the Conversation Continually on the Stamp Dutys. I was reay surpr sed to here the people talk so freely. this is Common in all the Country, and much more so to the Northward. the Catholiques seem to be very Cautious on this occasion. we went to ly at Mr. Diggsses where I had again the pleasure of Conversing with the Rever'd father thomas, to my great satisfaction.

Do. 27th. Came to tulip hil In Company with both Galloways, Mr. Stuard, one of the majistrates of anapolis,²⁰ and Mr. Junifer major in the militia.²¹ after Dinner as the botle was going round the Conversat'n fell on the Stamps, and as the wine operated the rage against the proceedings of the parlement augment, only the magestrate seemed to retain himself, and took the part of the ministry, on acc't of his Countryman lord Bute.²² in the hight of the Conv'on there was something said about taking up arms, that if the americans took it in head they were able to Cope with Britain in america. upon which the magestrate said that non but Disaffected people, or Enemy's to the present government, could talk in such a manner, but notwithstanding his loyalty, he out with it at last, and said that if it Came to the push he would take up arms himself In Defence of his liberty and property, upon which he had a luza from the Company.

¹⁸ Charles Carroll of Annapolis and Elk Ridge (1702-1781), father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The Patapsco Iron Works were at the mouth of Gwynn's Falls, now in the southwest part of Baltimore.

¹⁹ Four of the five were this Charles Carroll, Charles Carroll, barrister, Daniel Dulany, and Robert Carter, of Nomini, Va. A letter of the first-named to his celebrated son, written in 1764, mentions that he owns a fifth of these iron-works. Rowland, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton*, I. 60.

²⁰ Dr. George Stewart, member of the provincial council. See Hanson, *Old Kent of Maryland*, pp. 262-264.

²¹ Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, afterward member of the Continental Congress and signer of the Constitution.

²² Dr. George Stewart was born in Scotland.

It is Certain that this act has made a great alteration in the americans Disposition towards greatbritain,²³ and will have a very Good Effect with regard to themselves. it has already set them on raising everything within themselves, which they would never have thought of otherwise, for they hitherto were the greatest spendtrifits in the world, satisfied if at the years End the[y] Could make both Ends meet. they send their produce home, which is sold by the merchants at their own price, and aded to this Considerable Charges, there was but litle Coming to the poor planter, and Even that litle was sent out to him in some necessary furniture which cost him as Dear in proportion as his tobacco was so d Cheap. thus the Inhabitants of america were allways from hand to mouth. Indeed they have this happiness well for them, that all necessarys for life, abound in this fine Country in the utmost plenty: however they seem already to be intent on raising manufactures, spinning and weaving both woollen and linnen, and more Especially to the norw'd. In Boston they make all their own aparell. In so much that there are great Complaints in England of the few goods taken of their hands this last year by the Colony's: if they put this resolution in Execution it must be a fatal stroke to England, for their Chief Dependance is on their manufactures to which these Colonys were a Considerable support.

June the 28th. remained at tulip hill with Mr. Junifer.

the 30th. went to a fishing party to the Bay Side being Invited by a Quaker who gave a feast there.

July the 1st. Came with Mr. Junifer to annopolis where the provincial Court begins the 10th. *the 3d. Do.* Dined with old Squ'r Carrol of anopolis.²⁴ he is looked on to be the most moneyed man in maryland but at the same time the most avaritious. he is a staunch Roman Catholique, keeps but very litle Company owing perhaps to his Distaste to the protestants. I was never genteeler received by any perssonne than I was by him. he has no family, only a b. son who he Intends to make his sole heir. he had part of his Education in france.

the 6th. Dined with Mr. Key, attorney general, who is a very sensible man.

the 9th. Dined with Barister Carrol²⁵ (who Came for the Court) in Company with Several Gentlemen, who were the top of the province. they were all scheming how to rise manufactures. one had sent home for weavers, another for spiners, another, other things. In short in three

²³ Cf. the letters of John Beale Bordley in J. B. Gilson, *Biographical Sketches of the Bordley Family*, pp. 82-85.

²⁴ The same Charles Carroll—of Annapolis or Elk Ridge or Doughoregan—referred to above, note 18. What is said here of his son's birth is contradicted by the data given in Miss Rowland's biography.

²⁵ Charles Carroll, barrister (1723-1783), a distant relative of Charles Carrollton; he was afterward a member of several of the revolutionary conventions of Maryland, and of the Continental Congress.

²⁶ James Tilghman, elder brother of Matthew Tilghman, M. C. C., and father of Chief Justice William Tilghman of Pennsylvania. *Md. Mag. of Hist.*, I. 369. Governor Sharpe, in a letter of May 8, 1764, speaks of him as "Mr. James Tilghman, lately Burgess [member of the assembly, 1763] for Talbot and one of our first-rate lawyers, but now settled in Philadelphia". *Md. Archives*, XIV. 160. Barrister Carroll had in 1763 married the eldest daughter of Matthew Tilghman.

years time they would not have a farthings worth of anything from England. there was one Mr. tilghman here from philadelphia²⁶ who says that the people in Boston are highly infla'd against the mother Country, and that their first toast after Dinner is the virginia assembly. that they have wrote to all the Different assemblys on the Continent to send three members from Each, to meet at new york as a Comitee, to Consult what measures they should take to opose the Stamp act.²⁷ this general Comitee is to set the 1st of 8^{bre}, And is the best method they Could fall on the [to] unite the sentiments and Interests of the Different Colonys or provinces into one. it must be observed, that G. B. has hithertoo, Encouraged Disunion as much as possible betwixt the Differ't Colonys, by settleing here, a Kings Government, and there a Proprietary Gt., which are a ways oposit in their sentiments. the Inhabitants of Ks. Gts. think themselves much happier than the others, and they again are of quite Diff't opinion, and Youl observe the many Diff't sects and sorts of worship amongst them, which is very much encouraged from Engl'd. there is for Example Carolina, abounds with presbiterians, Virginia, hardly any other than the Church of England. [*In margin*: except about Norfolk.] Maryl'd were formerly all Catholiques, but very much altered since the Change of the stupid propietor.²⁸ pensylvania, most y quakers, I hear, but they begin to Dwindle away. the new Jersys and York governments a mixture of all Sorts, where they seem, particularly In new York, to be less Bigoted to religion than any other part of the Continent (Except Charles town in S. Carolina) by what I learn. Rhode Island was settled first by people Banished from Boston, and was for some years the general asilum for such as sufered from the spirit of persecution that reigned then at Boston. those were Called sectaries and espoused the Covenant of Grace, and were persecuted by those whom held the Covenant of the works: so that there are Jensonists and molinists in this part of the world as well as elsewhere, but under Different Denominations.

In Boston they are ranek Bigoted presbiterians, of these sort of people preserve me o Lord.

All this Ive mentioned only to shew that G. B. by Encouraging these Divisions and Differences betwixt the Colonys, think they Can by that means keep them allways at vareance amongst themselves and Consequently wholly Dependent on them and subject to their will, but great is their mistake in this, for the Inhabitants of north america Can lay asside their religion, when their Interest requires it, as well as the English Can, and allways have done.

July the 11th. Dined at My friend the Magestrates Mr. Stuart in a full Company, and allways the old Cause but with moderation on acc't of Mr. Judge.

July the 12th. Dined at Mr. Dicks mayor of London town, a Clever old gentleman.²⁹

Do. 14. had all the gentlemen whom shewed me Civilitys to Dine with me at my tavern to the number of 22.

²⁷ Resolutions of June 8.

²⁸ Meaning, either the accession of the unworthy sixth lord, Frederick, the present proprietor, or the renunciation of Catholicism by Benedict, the fourth lord.

²⁹ James Dick, of the firm of James Dick and Stewart, of London and Annapolis. *Md. Mag. of Hist.*, III. 226.

Do. 15th. the assembly³⁰ Dissolved for want of Jurymen. non came to town for fear of the smallpox which is now bad in it.

the 16th. went to a fishing party out in the Bay where we me[t] the governor and several others.

the 20th. went with a large Company of gentle[men] to the governors, where 6 of us, namely Navy³¹ Diggs Esqr., the two Galloways, Mr. Junifer, the attorney general and myself. Stayed three Days.

the 23d. came back from the governors to anapolis.

the 25th. went with a large Company of Ladys and gentlemen, to the governors to a barbique. Came back the Same even'g to town.

Maryland is Divided by the North Extremitie of Chesapeak Bay into two parts, called the Eastern and western shores. this province like virginia has no Consid^{er}able towns, and for the reason, namely, the number of its navigable Creeks and rivers. the staple Comolity of maryland is Chiefly tobacco; and the planters live in farms scaterd about the Country, and have the same Conveniency as the Virginians of ships Coming to their Doors, by means of Chesapeak Bay, and its navigable rivers thertoo Communiciating. their yearly Exports in tobacco is Computed to be about 30 th'd hhd's. the white taxables are about 35 thousd. there is some woolen manufacture Caried on in the County of Somerset. their Comon Country Drink is cyder, which is very good. this Country also abounds in wild grapes which makes me think that if it was Cultivated it would produce wine. maryland is favoured by nature with all necessary Convenience for shiping as well as all the other provinces. hemp grows well. it has plenty of timber and Iron. Samuel Galloway Esqr. has a ship yard on the head of west river within two small miles of his house where he has a ship Carpenter that builds him several ships. those that have purchased them built hithertoo gives them a good Character.

the Chief rivers are Potowmack (which it has in Common with virginia). Patuxent, and severn, on the western shore. Chiptonk, Chester, and Sassapas³² on the Eastern.

the province is Divided into 11 Countys. six on the west, and 5 on the Eastern side of Chesapeak. those on the western side are, St. marys, Charleses, Prince George, Calvert, anne arundel and Baltimore Counties. on the Eastern side are Somerset, Dorchester, Ta'bot, Kent, and Cecil Counties.³³ alexandria is their Chief town in the Back of the province, but Inconsiderable.

Lord Baltimore is Both Proprietor and govern[or] of Maryland. the family is now of the protestant perssuasion, but not a bit the more Esteemed for it. he is much Dispised in Maryland partikularly.

July the 26th. Set out infine from Anapolis to the Norwd. Crossed the Bay to hutchins fery on Kent Island, which is about 12 or 14 m. from hence. Cross the Island to the Eastern Shore fery which is 14 of a mile Broad. Kent Island is very good land, some farms on it, but Cheafly Cattle. this Is and and the Eastern [Shore] is in general, low and flat, full of Swamps and Swashes of Brakish water. this part

³⁰ Meaning, the provincial court. There was no session of the assembly until September 23.

³¹ Ignatius; see note 6, above.

³² Choptank, Chester, and Sassafras.

³³ There were several others.

of maryland is the moste unhea.thy, very subject to feavors. I never saw such a quantity of muskitoes in any part of the world as here.

from Eastern Shore ferry to queenstown, a Small place 12m. Dist. here Dined. from thence to Churchil,³⁴ a litle Country town also. the Country very pleasant and fine roads. farming seems [to] take up the peoples atention here more than any other. they raise great quantitys of wheat and Indian Corn. tobacco Does not answer at all and is but litle Cultivated on this [side of] the Bay. the water is but very Indifferent and Contributes much to the sickliness of this part.

Do. the 27th. from Churchil to fredericks or Prince Georges town 20 mi. on sassapas river,³⁵ a very fine situation, but a small place of litle trade. from hence to Mr. Chews to whome I had a letter from Mr. Galloway; he has a Store at Prince Georges, and a farm about 4 miles from thence. here I lay. this is Cecil County which seems still beter Cultivated than hithertoo. Indeed this has been the Case all along as I Came to the northward.

the 28th. from Mr. Chews to New Castle on the Delawar. this is a prety town Consisting of about 500 Dwelling houses. it is looked upon as the next to philadelphia In the province. it is about 30 from this last, S. W., on the north side of said river. there was two Kings Fregates of[f] the town to visit the vessels going in and out therby to hinder foreign trade.³⁶ from New castle to wilmingtion, 6 miles. crossed the ferry at Christeen river.³⁷ this is a small but very well situated litle town, on the side of sd. river. large ships Can Come up this river to the town.³⁸ it is about 1 mile Dist. from the Bay, on which the town has a fine prospect, being on the side of a hill. this place is so near the City that there is but litle trade Caryed on. tavern Keeping is the best business that is Caryed on in all those small towns, therefore are they well stocked with taverns. here I lay.

July the 20th. Set out Early for Chester, 12 miles. the weather Extremely hot. the horses had great Difficulty to Dr[a]gg me along. Chester is on Priest Creek³⁹ about 15 miles from philad. the roads from wilmingtion are very hilly and stoney which seemd odd at first, being so long acustomed to fine level roads. I met here a number of gentlemen and ladys who Came out from the City on a party of pleasure. I Dined in their Company and wee all Set out together after Dinner. arrived at p[h]ilad. at 6¹/₂ and took lodgings at the widow Gradens in Second Street, which is the only genteel lodgeing in town.⁴⁰ we

³⁴ The locality is still called Church Hill; it is in the northern part of Queen Anne County, some five miles southeast of Chestertown.

³⁵ On Griffith's map of Maryland (1704) the village on the north side of the Sassafra is called Frederick, that on the south side Georgetown, and such are the names recorded by Philip Fithian, who journeyed along this same route from Annapolis in 1774. *Journal and Letters*, pp. 154, 155. Now these villages are called Fredericktown and Georgetown, respectively.

³⁶ One was the *Sardoine*, Capt. James Hawker. *Md. Archives*, XIV. 238, 239; *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*, V. 18.

³⁷ Christiana Creek.

³⁸ Cf. Kalm, *Travels into North America* (Warrington, 1770), I. 157.

³⁹ Ridley Creek. On Thomas Holme's map (1687) it is called "Preest Creek".

⁴⁰ The widow Graydon, mother of Alexander Graydon the author of the cele-

Crossed sculkill ferry about 3 miles from town, from whence the road to philada. is Beautifull, the Country one Continuall farm and several pretty little Country houses.

August the 3d. went to a fishing party on sculkill river in Company with Samuel Mifflin Esqr., Messrs. Willing and moris⁴¹ (to whom I had a letter of recomend'n from Beans and Cuthbert In Jamaica) and severall other of the first people in the town, where we Spent the Day.

Do. the 5th. went [to] German town with another Company to see the stocking manufacture. this is a Small place settled by Germans and Dutch who are all stocking weavers and manufacture great quantitys of thread and woolen.

Do. 7th. went again with another Company to Sculkill falls which are not Considerable wheras boats and flats Can Come Down without any great Dangour. there is here what they Call a museum or a room where they have a Colection of all the Curiossitys they can pick up in the Country, which Consists in Different sorts of fowls, fishes, shels, sneaks, and other Curious anymals, also Indian dresses and Diff't ornaments. there were a few miners here Blowing up the rocks of the fall to facilitate the passage for Boats over it, for when once over the falls they Can go a Considerable way up the Country. we Dined at a tavern that is here, a large Company of both sexes.

August the 10th. Mr. Mifflin introduced me to the Governor, with whom we Dined.⁴² he is nephew to Mr. Pen the proprietor. there are two brothers of them here.

Do. 12th. went with Mr. harden the roman Catho'ique missionary⁴³ to Dine with Messrs. mead and fitsimons also roman.⁴⁴

brated *Memoirs*, was born in Barbadoes, of a German father and a Scottish mother, and married an Irishman. Thus qualified for the entertainment of a cosmopolitan company, she, after her husband's death, began to keep a boarding-house in Philadelphia. Her sen describes several of her more interesting guests, but, alas, makes no mention of our traveller. Johann Kalb, coming to Philadelphia on a similar commission from the French government, boarded with Mrs. Graydon in 1768 and 1769. The house in which she lived in 1765 was the "Slate-roof House", at the southeast corner of Second Street and Norris's Alley, built in 1687 and standing till 1807 (picture in *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, IV, 52). Graydon, *Memoirs* (ed. 1846), pp. 18, 20, 33, 43, 62, 64.

⁴¹ Samuel Mifflin (d. 1781), a relative of Thomas Mifflin, was a prominent merchant in Philadelphia; see previous installment, note 63. The firm of Willing and Morris (Thomas Willing and Robert Morris), established in 1754, continued till 1793, and was during most of that time one of the chief mercantile firms in the city. Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, and Samuel Mifflin were all members of the Mount Regale Fishing Company.

⁴² John Penn (1729-1795), son of Richard, lieutenant-governor 1763-1771, deputy-governor 1773-1775. His father and his uncle Thomas were both proprietaries in 1765. The brother next mentioned was Richard (1736-1811), lieutenant-governor 1771-1773.

⁴³ Rev. Robert Harding, S.J., missionary in Philadelphia from 1749 to his death in 1772. Rev. Jacob Duché, in "Caspipina's Letters" (*Observations on a Variety of Subjects*, Philadelphia, 1774, p. 114), speaks of him as "a decent well bred Gentleman, . . . much esteemed by all denominations of christians in thi city".

⁴⁴ George Mead (1741-1808), grandfather of Gen. George G. Meade, and Thomas Fitzsimons (1741-1811), member of the Federal Convention of 1787, and C. 1789-1795, were brothers-in-law and partners.

Do. 10th. went on second party on sculkill river.

Philadelphia Capital of pensilvania is situated on a neck of land at the Confluence of the two fine rivers, Delawar and Schuikill. it is layed out in the form of a paralelogram or long square, and Designed when finished, to extend two miles, from river to river, and to Compose eight long streets which are to be intersected at right angles by sixteen others Each a mile in length, broad, spacious and Even, with proper spaces left for the public buildings Churches and market places, in the Center is a Square of 10 acres, round which the public buildings are to be Disposed. the two principal streets, called high Street,⁴⁵ and Broad Street, are each one hund'd feet in Breadth, the others 60, and most of the houses have a small garden or orchard. there are great numbers of wharfs, the principal an hund'd. foot wide, and water enough for shps of 500 tuns burthen to load and unload alongside them, the ware houses are numerous and commodious, and the Docks for ship building are well adapted and Convenient. there is now twenty Vesse s on the Stocks, great and small, some of the former three hund. tuns Burthen. the City exclusive of warehouses Consists of about 3,000 houses or more, the number of inhabitants, Computed to be about 30,000. the original of the town which I have Described here is far from being Completed, but is more advanced than any town whatsoever Ever was in so short a time, and encreasses Daily very considerably, there is a number of very rich merchants in this City. their trade is considerable to all westindia Islands, also the madeiras, spain, portugal, England, Ireland, and holand, there is a Surprising quantity of all kind of grain raised in the province Espee'y wheat, with which the[y] suplied England and Ireland abundantly this year, where it was very scarce, they have all kinds of provisions great plenty of vegetab'es, all this is brought Down the rivers Delawar and Sculkill, the Dutch⁴⁶ Employ between 8 and 900 thd. wagons drawn with four horsses Each In bringing the product of their farms to philadelph[ia] market. there has been 300 Vessels Cleard out of this port in one year, and as many Enter'd. their Chief Exportations, are, grain, lumber, Iron, of which there is plenty, Beef, pork, flaxseed, some hemp and furs, the hemp they find use amongst themselves as the[y] have now many roperies and make very good Canvas or Duck, their Importations from the westindias Consists in sugar, rum, Cofee Coten, and Molasses, sometimes Cash. they have set up several looms of late where there is very good linnen made, and no Doubt but the stamp Duty will augment their aplication that way. they send great quantitys of flaxseed to Ireland yearly, in return for which they have Irish linnens, the established religion was quaker formerly, but all believers in Christ are tolerarted, the quakers seem to Dwindle very fast, there is a roman Church here⁴⁷ to which resorts about 1200 people, many of which are Dutch, they are in generall poor. there are several good churches of protestants and presbiterens. the state house is a very good building, also the hospital. there are three public libraries,⁴⁸ they have two

⁴⁵ High Street, now Market.

⁴⁶ Germans. Lord Adam Gordon attributes to them 20,000 wagons (Mere-ness, *Travels in the Colonies*, p. 411), Burnaby, 9000 (*Travels*, ed. 1775, p. 50).

⁴⁷ St. Mary's, a frame building on Fourth Street above Spruce.

⁴⁸ The library of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Loganian Library, and probably that of the American Philosophical Society are meant. See Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation*, I. 86, 87.

market Days in the week, wednes-days, and saturday. It is amazing the quantity of meat (which is exceed fine) and all kinds of provisions vegetables and fruits, that abounds at this market, and the number of people of both sexes, that comes to buy provisions on those Days.

The Climate of Pensylvania is very agreeable, and the air sweet and Clean, the fall or autumn begins about the 20th 8bre and lasts to the Beginning of Nbre,⁴⁹ when the winter sets in, which Continues til march, frosty weather and extreme Cold seasons, are very Common here, so that the river Delawar tho broad and rapid, is often froze over, but then the weather is Dry and healthy, the spring lasts from march to June, and the Sumer in July, august, and September, During which, the heats are Excessive, particularly in the night, more Disagreeably so, than In the Island of hispaniola in the hottest time, this I have experienced.

the Soil of this province is in some places a black or yellow sand, in some light and gravelly, and in the vales along rivers sides a fat mould, the earth is very fruitful and easy to be laboured, it is pretty well watered, well furnished with timber and Iron. In Short there is no part of america in a more flourishing Condition than pensylvania, great numbers of people abound to it, in some years more have transported themselves into this province, then into all the others besides. In the year 1720, 6208 persons Came as passengers and servants, to settle here, four fifths of whom were from Ireland. they Continue still Coming, to avoid the misery of their own Country, where they are a thousand times worse than guinea Slaves.

the Chief Inland town in pensylvania is lancaster, Sixty miles from philada. back in the Country. here they renew their treaties with the Indians, there is a pretty Considerable trade Caryed on here with the back settlers, the Inhabitants of this province are a well Disposed people of a moderate Jenius, strong and well looking, they are more shie of strangers than in the other provs, and little Curious of getting acquainted with them, or shewing any civilitys Except they have very good recommendations, this they say themselves, is owing to tricks put upon them by strangers, but I belive to be more owing to the reservedness of the quakers, which seems to have infused itself into all the Inhabit's.

August the 20th. Set out this morning for New York. breakfast at frankfort, 6 miles, a Small vilage. Dined at the red Lion tavern, 7 miles;⁵⁰ and slept at the Delawar ferry tavern, 16 m., where I met with young Thoms. Mifflin⁵¹ and others.

Do. 21st. Crossed the Delawar near the falls, went thorough trenton, 1 m. [*In margin:* There [are] Baraks by Trent[on] to hold 600 men.]⁵² and breakf'd at princetown. this is a pretty Country town situated in a fine fruitful agreeable Country, there is a good Colege here large Enough to hold 400 people, there is now 160 scholars,⁵³ prince

⁴⁹ October 20; December.

⁵⁰ At the mouth of Poquessing Creek, now Torresdale.

⁵¹ Afterward the celebrated major-general, president of Congress, signer of the Constitution, and governor of Pennsylvania: at this time a youth of twenty-one.

⁵² Burnaby, p. 54, who also mentions barracks at Princeton, New Brunswick, and Perth Amboy.

⁵³ The *Account* of the college published by the trustees in 1764 gives the number as 120. MacLean, *History of the College of New Jersey*, II. 273.

town is 10 m from trenton. from here to Brunswick,⁵⁴ 14 miles. here I Dined. there is also a Barack here. the road is very fine hithertoo, the Country well inhabited. this side the Delawar Is new Jersys. it [is] well cultivated, great plenty of all Sorts of fruits on each side, with which they faten the hogs in the season. indeed all the Cattle like it beter than grass. they make great quantitys of Cider here but not Extraord nary in quality. after Dinner Crossed the fery⁵⁵ and continued to amboy, 12 m. this is the Capital of East Jersy, Consisting of about 200 houses. it is well situated and has a comods. harbour there is Barracks here also. the Jerseys are Divided into East and west, amboy is Capitl of the first, and Bur ington (which is on the Delawr. 20 m. above philadelphia) Capital of west Jersy. the Governor resides 6 months in one place and 6 in the other. this Colony is well Inhabited and Cultivated. the climate is healthy and temperate. its general produce is, all sorts of Grain, horssees, black Cattle, hogs, skins and pipe Staves, the[y] Catch some whale on the Coast.

they Export Bread, Corn, flower, Beef, pork, hams, fish, some buter, and bar Iron, to west Indies, for which they receive, sugar molasses and rum in return: they send to England skins, pitch, tar, whale bone, etc. and oyl, for which the[y] have furniture and Cloath'g.

As the towns generally ly up in the Country the trade is Chiefly over land to new York.

there are from 100 to 200 familys in one place, great part of which are Dutch. the number of Inhabitants is computed at 65,000 of all ages and sexes, of which 6000 are men fit to Cary arms, and about 200 Indians. there is no Considerable town in the Jersys, amboy being the most so of any.

August the 22d. Crossed the fery from amboy to Staten Island which is about a mile broad, from hence to watsons fery at the other Ex-tremity of the Island, 16 miles. here I Broke fast. this Island is in the province of new York, Distance about 9 m. N. W.⁵⁶ from the metropolis. it is about [13] miles in length, and 6 or 7 in breadth. on the South side is a Considerable tract of good level land, but the Island in general is rough and the hills prety high and stoney. the Inhabitants are principally Dutch and some french.

Sandy hook, and the Southermost point of long Island, form the Entrance of New York Bay. this is Called the narows. it is but 2 m. broad and opens the ocean to full view. the passage up to York from sandy hook is safe, and not above 25 miles in length. the Common navigation is between the East and west bances, in two or three and twenty feet water, but it is said that an Eighty gun ship may be brought thorough a narrow winding unfrequen'd Channel, between the North End of the East bank and Coney Island. there has been a 70 gun ship up Close to the town. the Island on which the City is built is about 14 m. long, and not above one mile broad. the S. W. point projects into a fine spacious bay, 9 miles in length and about 4 in breadth, at the Confluence of hudsons or N. W. river and the streight between long Island and the North Eastern Shore, or East river. on this point is the City, which Consists of about 2700 houses or buildings. it is upwards of a mile in

⁵⁴ New Brunswick.

⁵⁵ Over the Raritan.

⁵⁶ Southwest.

length and about $\frac{1}{2}$ that in breadth. it is said to be a very healthy spot. the East and South parts are low and Convenient for wharfs, the north and west parts Elevated and Dry. the Streets are Irregular, but being paved with round pebbles, are allways Clean. there are Several well built brick houses in the English taste, the others in the Dutch with the gables towards the Streets and Coverd with tiles;⁵⁷ this City is supplied with markets in Different parts, abounding with great plenty and variety, they have Beef, pork, veal, mutton, poultry, venison, wild fowl, Especially wild pigeon, fish, oysters, roots, and all Kinds of vegetables and fruits, in their Seasons; this City is the metropolis of the province and by its Commodious situation Commands all the trade of the western part of Connecticut and that of East Jersey; no Season prevents their shipin from going out and Coming into port, there are allways pilot boats at the narrows ready to Conduct them In on first sight.

upon the S. W. point of the City stands the fort which is a square with four Bastions mounted with 9 pounders but in very bad order.⁵⁸ within the walls is the Governors house where he usually resides, opposite to it are brick Baracks. the Governors house is 3 stories high and fronts to the west.

Below the walls of this fort or garison near the water there is a fortification to Defend the grand road, (but Ships Can lye with safety out of its reach) the lower part or foundation of this Bateria is built with stone, and the merlons Consist of Cedar Joists filld up with Earth. it mounts 92 24 pounders which are almost level with the water. this fortifion is not of any great service to the harbour, which is in East river and also the principle part of the town which lyes that way. about 6 furlongs from the fort lyes noten Island⁵⁹ behind which, betwixt [it] and long Island, is a passage for pretty large vessels, on which not one gun of this fortifion Can be brought to bare. this Island lyes about S E from the fort in the middle of East river. it is reserved as a Sort of a Demesne for the Governors. they prof[p]ose to Erect a Strong Castle on it, but there is as yet not the least appearance thereof. this according to my Judgement is the p[r]operest place for a fortifion.

there are besides this, two other Islands in the Bay opposite the town but out of reach of the guns. they say there is very good fresh water on all those Islands they serve for vessels to ly Curenteen by them.

the City hall is a Strong building two Stories high situated where four Streets meet and fronts to the S. W. on one of the most Spacious Streets in town. here they hold their Council and General Courts.

the Inhabitants of new York are a mixed people, mostly Decended from the Dutch planters originally. there are still two Churches in which religious worship is performed in that language, but the number that talk it Diminishes Daily. all religions are permitted here Except the roman Catholique.

the City of York Consists principally of merchants, shop keepers, and tradesmen (as Dos philadelphia) who have the reputation of punctual and fair Dealings. there are Some very rich houses in it. the people are very sociable and kind [to] Strangers.

felt making is a Considerable Branche in york and it is said their hats are as good as in England.

⁵⁷ Cf. Kalm, *Travels*, I. 249.

⁵⁸ See also Lord Adam Gordon (Mereness, p. 415), and other travellers.

⁵⁹ Governor's Island.

the N. E. part of New York Island is Inhabited Chiefly by Dutch farmers who have a Small vilage there Called harlem pleasantly Situated on a flat Cultivated for the City Markets.

scarce a third part of the province is Cultivated. the Colony of Connecticut which is vastly inferior to this In its Extent, has according to a late Computation, above 133,000 Inhabitants of which a militia of 27000 men, whereas the whole number of Souls Contained in New York province is but 110,000, and the militia 18000.

the Situation of new york with regard to foreign markets Is to be preferred to any of the Colonies. it lies in the Center of the Continent, has at all times a Short and easy access to the ocean, and has almost the whole trade of Connecticut and New Jersey, two fertile and well Cultivated Colonies. Hudsons river which runs up in the Country near lake ontario (and Carries Small vessels as far as albany on Sd. river 150 [m.] from York) Impowers them to Carry on a Considerable trade with the Back Indians, to whom they Send rum, ammunition, blankets, Strouds,⁶⁰ and wampum or Conque shell Bugles. In return for which, they have all Kinds of furs, and peltrys; they always have been in good Intelligence with the five nation, now Six Nation Indians, which are the Bravest and most redoutable of all the Indian Nations, that Canada has often Experienced;

the Importation of Dry goods from England to this province has been Considerable formerly, Insomuch that the merchants were often at a loss how to make returns, or remittances to the English merchants, but this is not so much the Case now, and Especially since the Stamp Dutys have been talked of. Indeed the Inhabitants of all the Different Colonies are so Exasperated at this present time, at the stationing men of war all along the Coste to prevent their Caring on any foreign trade, Especially with the french Islands and now adding the Stamp Duties, that they are resolved to raise every thing within themselves, and Import nothing from England. this resolution tho of a Short Standing, has affected England to that Degree that Several Corps of tradespeople were risen, and Could not be quelled without a Considerable body of troops that were Dispersed in the Diff't. parts of the City of london for that purpose.

there had been severall perssons apointed in the Different Colonies, to be Collectors of Sd. Duties, but they were all glad to resigne to save their lives.

the Exports of New york to the west Indias are flower, peas, rye meal, bread, Indian Corn, onions, boards, Staves, lumber, horses, sheep, pickled oysters, beef and pork. of flower, which is the main article, there has been shipped about 90,000 Barels, pr. annum. to preserve their Credit in this important branche of their stap'e, they apoint officers to Inspect and brand every Barrel before it is shipped. the returns are Chiefly sugar, rum, molasses etc. the spaniards Commonly Contract with this and the Colony of Pensilvania for provisions, and with Virginia for Masts and yards, much to the advantage of Sd. Colonies, the returns being wholly in Cash. their wheat, flower, Indian Corn, and lumber, shipped to lisbone and the maderas, balance the madera wine Imported which is no small quantity, it being their usual Drink after meals, they Export to Ireland great quantitys of flax Seed. they Sent in one year 13,000 hlds. in return they have Irish linnens.

⁶⁰ Blankets.

there is along hudsons river great stock of timber of all Kinds and good Conveniences for ship building, also Iron mines in plenty and of the best quality out of which they furnish Boston and road Island. for their bulding. this is a Considerable branche of the trade of this province, the bodys of Iron mines in the Northern parts of it are so many, their quality so good, and their situation so Convenient with regard to wood, water, Cariages, and all other Conveniences, that it is generally thought (with attention) they might rival the Swedes in this article.

North america is provided by nature, with Every thing necessary, to become the greatest maritime power In the univers, its harbours are Numerous and Comodious, its Coasts of Easy access, by the sounds, which you have on all the Continent a Considerable Distance of [into] the land. timber and Iron abounds in all parts, Navall Stores in the greatest plenty, and hemp grows as well as in any Country whatsoever. Joined to this the healthiness of Climate, the great propogation, you'll See about the farmers houses in the Country, Children Swarming, like broods of Ducks in a pond. they Come quiker to maturity than in Europe are strong and robust, in general well Disposed, Easy lead on to any undertaking, but Soon Discouraged if the Success Does not immediatly answer their Expect'on. they have this in Common with the English, Soon up, and as soon Down, that is, they are Easily Elevated in spirit, and as Easy Dejected. an Enterprising man that would Study these people and gain their inclinations will bring them to do any thing he pleases.

this Country Can not be long subject to great Britain, nor Indeed to any Distant power, its Extent is so great the Daily Encrease of its Inhabitants So Considerable, and having every thing necessary within themselves for (more than) their own Defence, that no Nation whatsoever seems beter Calculated for independency, and the Inhabitants are already Intirely Disposed therto and talk of nothing more than it.

It is Computed that there are at least ten thousand Convicts and passengers, or indented Servants, imported yearly into the Different Colonies, the first are Sent to Virginia and maryland only, and likewise Indented servants; But the Colonies to the Northward of maryland admit no Convicts, but Serv'ts as many as will Come.⁶¹ there has Come to philadel'a alone, 5000 in one year, 3/4 of which were from Ireland, great numbers of Dutch and germans; those Indented Servants, are poor people that Can not pay their passage and signe Indentures to the Cap'ns for the payment thereof. he on his arrival Sells these indtures to the highest bidder, they are generally for four years, some more, Dure'ing which time these poor wretches are obliged to Serve like slaves or Convicts, and are on the same footing; If ever any foreign power Comes to Invade the Country, and publishes the liberty to all of those people that will Joign with them, they'll Certainly all take party, and I look on them to be fiter for Soldiers than the Inhabitants, being Eured to hard labour and fatigue, acustomed to live hard:

August the 20th. Crossed over the Channel to long Island, sometimes Calld Nassau Is'land, which is In the province of new york. it is about 120 m. long and not above 18 broad. It is Divided from the Continent by a Channel of 100 m. in length, and 12 In Breadth. there are many Convenient harbours. it Contains the Countys of suffolk, Rich-

⁶¹ On the matter of the convicts, see the late Dr. J. D. Butler's article in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, II. 12-33.

mond⁶² and queens County. its trade is in furs, Skins and tobaco to great Britain, and horses, Beef, pork, peas, wheat, oats, and Corn, to the west India Islands, In return for which they have sugar, rum, molasses, Cotten, Cofee, etc. the Soil is very good on this Island. all sorts of vegetables and fruits abound on it, hemp and flax grows very well also. In the middle of the Island there is Salisbury plaine 16 miles long and 4 broad, on which there is neither Stick nor Stone to be Seen, a fine place to Encamp an army. there is an Excelent Breed of horses on the Island, for which reason their militia regiment is all Cavalry. there are Several small Islands of the Eastern Coast but non Inhabited; they have a whale fishery here sending the oil and bones to England, there are also other fisheries. I Dined and lay at the fery tavern.

August the 27th. Crossed over to York. the 28th Dined with John wats Esqr.⁶³ In Company with General Gage⁶⁴ his lady and Several officers. it is thought Mr wats will be made Lieutenant Governor of this province. Sir henry moore Is apointed governor and Expected out Daily, he was lieutenant governor of Jamaica, a very agreeable polite gentleman and Intirely the Courtier, talks all languages, well.⁶⁵ there was nothing talked of at York Dureing my Stay there but the spirited and patriotic behavior of the Inhabitants of the northern Colonies Especcially Boston, where the people had a few Days ago surownded the Stamp officers house who seemed to have some reluctancy to resigning his office, and would have leveled it with the ground if he had not Imediately resigned and promised never to act in that quality upon any acct. next Day they Caried lord Butes Efigie in a Cart round the town and hanged it to [a] tree where it lay Exposed till Dark (with a guard at the foot of Sd tree) then they throwed him into a fire round which they sung and Danced all night, the Same thing was Done in providence, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. they all Declare Solemnly that when the Stamp papers Come over they'l set fire to the house wherein the[y] are lodged.

August the 26th. Dined and suped with Messrs. young and walas. the fever took me at night which held me three Days Dureing which Doctor middleton⁶⁶ attended me.

Sept. the 3d. Set out from York to philadela. Crossed the fery to powlers⁶⁷ hook, 2 miles broad, from thence to Bargin⁶⁸ fery, 9 miles the fery about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile. to Elizabeth point fery 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the fery $\frac{1}{4}$. to Elizabeth town 2 m. Dined here, a pretty litle In'and town where there is a Court house and a Decent Church the Country about it fruitfull and well Cultivated, plenty of grain and fruit. from hence to wood Bridge⁶⁹ a Small vilage 10 [miles] Dist.

Do. the 4th. from wood Bridge to Brunswick fery 10 m. the fery $\frac{1}{2}$.

⁶² Suffolk, Queens, and Kings. Richmond County was and is Staten Island.

⁶³ John Watts (1715-1780), member of the council, Loyalist.

⁶⁴ Maj.-Gen. Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief in America 1763-1772, afterward governor of Massachusetts.

⁶⁵ Sir Henry Moore governed Jamaica most of the time from 1756 to 1761, and New York from November, 1765, to his death in 1769.

⁶⁶ Dr. Thomas Middleton, author of *An Historical Inquiry into the Ancient and Present State of Medicine* (New York, 1769).

⁶⁷ Paulus.

⁶⁸ Bergen.

⁶⁹ Woodbridge, N. J.

this town is the finest Situated of any that I've yet Seen for a Country town. It is on Raritan river about 15 miles from its mouth, on the west Side thereof, on a rising ground at the top of which is a fine Barak. on Each Side the river are Several prety Country Seats and farms well tended which has a very prety Effect. there is a Coper mine about 10 m. up this river which Does not promise much at present, altho great things were Expect from it afirst.

amboy on the mouth of this river (which I've before mentioned) is wel. situated for trade, having a fine and safe harbour in Sandy hook Bay suficient to hold 500 Sail of Shiping of any Burthen, vessels may also be built very Conveniently here and Cheap. Notwithstanding these advantages it is but a Small place of no trade, which is owing to its proximity to York. It Consists of about 40 or 50 scatered houses Some of which are good buildings. Its situation is both pleasant and healthy.

after Breakfast Set out from Brunswick to Prince town 10 miles, here I went to meeting⁷⁰ at which was a Considerable Congregation of presbitirians. from hence to trenton where I lay.

Sepr, the 5th. from trenton to the red lion and from thence to Philadelphia the same road I went.

Do, 6th. this morning Mr. Mifflin Introduced me to governor Pen with whom we Dined.

the 7th. Dined with mr a'en⁷¹ to [whom] mr mifflin Intrd. me also

Quelque jours⁷² avant mon Depart De Phi adelphia on y avoit recue la nouve le, que, la perssonne qui avoit Eté nommé receveur Des nouvelles Droits a York,⁷³ C'Etoit Demis De cette Charge, et que le gouverneur⁷⁴ y avoit nommé Son fils Et C'Etoit retiré dans le fort, avec les troupes qui Ce trouvoient pour lors dans la Ville, et avoit ordonné aux Cap'ns De Deux fregattes qui Etoient En rade De s'approcher De la ville pou[r] la Cannoner En Cas que les habitants Eussent fait le moindre mouvement.

[March 13, 1765.] J'ai quitté le Batiment au Cap look Out et me Suis rendu a New bern En trarverssant la Caroline Du Nord, Dont cette Ville Doit Etre la Capitale. elle est apresent peu Considerable, ainssi que toute les autres Villes de Cette province, excepté le Cap fare, qui est la plus Comercaute. Cependant la navigation est assé mauvaise a cette dernière puisqu'il ny á que 17 pieds D'Eau sur la barre, qui est a Son entré, a haute mer.

la riviérre sur la quelle est batie New bern, ainssi que toute Celles que J'ai traverssé en allant a Virgine, qui Sonts Consider[able] et en grand Nombre. Communiquent a une meme Embouchure qu'on nomme

⁷⁰ It was not Sunday, but Wednesday.

⁷¹ Probably Andrew Allen (1740-1825), the attorney-general, son of Chief Justice William Allen and brother-in-law of Governor John Penn. He was for a brief period a member of the Continental Congress, resigning in 1776; then a Loyalist; see *Pa. Mag. of Hist.*, I, 206-211.

⁷² This paragraph is written on a separate page of the manuscript, the fifty-fifth. The matter, in French, on pp. 56-62, is omitted here, as merely repeating the diarist's English narrative of his journey down to March 13, 1765 (see previous installment).

⁷³ James MacEvers.

⁷⁴ Cadwallader Colden, acting governor. These references show that the diarist left Philadelphia in the latter part of October.

Oeacock, ou il y a une barre sur la quelle Il ny a que 9 pieds D'Eau, Ce qui fait que le Commerce y est peu Considerable.

Norfolk, la Ville la plus Comercante et Considerable De la Virginie, est situé Du Côté de l'Est de la rivière Elizabeth (qui Donne dans James rivière a une lieue au dessous) à un des beau⁷⁵ ports que la Nature peut former et, est munie de tout ce qui est Necessaire pour la Construction ou reparation Des Navires de quelque grandeurs que Ce Soit. sur le Côté oposé, et vis a vis de Norfolk, est une petite Ville nouvellement Etablie nommé portsmouth, qui a plusieurs quays, aupres Des quels les plus gros batiments peuvent Carenér. tous les Batiments qui ont affaire dans la virginie ou le Maryland s'ils ont besoins de Radoub viennent Ici, D'autant mieux qu'ils y trouvent Ce qui leur faut, et que le port et sure l'Entrée et la sortie facile.

Il est Etonnant que les Habitants n'ont Jamais pensé a fortifier un Endroit qui parroit Devoir être D'une grande Consequence pour le Commerce du paÿs, Car l'Enemie peut y entrer en tems de guerre et ravager la Ville sans opposition, ny ayant pas Un seul Cannon; Ny Dans les Environs. l'on pourroit, me Dira't on, y Assembler 2,000 homes en peu de tems, mais que peuvent deux ou trois mille homes Efrayé, sans Diciplinne, surpris sans s'y attendre, quand mem Ce Seroit par Un Nombre bien moindre qu'eux, mais qui seroit resolu, et bien armé. [*In margin: en Cas de surprise ils auroient de la peine a r'assembler mille homes.*]

la richesse de Set Endroit ne Dedomagerez pas Des depences D'une Entreprise qu'on y feroient; D'abord, Il y a peu, ou point D'argent, le tabac et⁷⁶ l'objet principal de leurs Commerce, et de cet article mem n'y trouveroit on pas Considerablement, puisque les Vaisseaux peuvent l'allér prendre Chez les habitants dans les Differentte parties de la province, par le moyen des rivières navigable qui y Sont en grand Nombre, ainsi que dans le maryland, Ce qui fait, qu'il ny'a pas D'Entrepot general ny de ville Considerable, Dans les deux provinces; par ce que Je vien de dire, Il paroît que Cet Endroit n'est pas un objet où l'on puisse satisfaire à l'interest.

Si l'on y aloit dans le Desin D'y faire du Degat, rien de plus facile, puisque, Comme j'ai Déja observé, Il y[a] point de fortification, et qu'on peut aller moulér à une portté de pistolet de la ville, ou s'il Convenoit mieux dans la baye sous le Cap henry, faire Dessendre son mond et marcher à la ville qui en est a 4 ou 5 lieus au plus. on auroit pour lors a Ce garder des Embuches parcequ'il faut traversser des Bois, ou Il y a un grand Chemain bien praticable. la Costte depuis le Cap Jusqu'a la ville est propre a la Dessente et on trouve toujours des pilotes aux Environs Du Cap.

En tems de guerre, les vaisseaux qui Chargent de tabac dans les deux provinces de virginie Et maryland s'assembtent Dans les Mois de [avril et d'octobre]⁷⁷ ou Dans la rivière De York vis a vis de la ville qui porte Son Nom, ou Devant la Ville de Hampton sur la rivière de James, plus Comunement Ici par[c]eque les Bureaux y Sont ou Ils S'Expedients. l'on m'assure avoir vue Ici, en pareille Cas, 100 Voille ou Vaisseaux pret a mettre a la voille. Ils Se tienent enssemble pour Etre En etat de se Defendre des Corsaires.

⁷⁵ Des plus beaux.

⁷⁶ Est.

⁷⁷ In another handwriting

puisque Cette Ville de Norfolk est la plus Comerceante Et Considerable on peut juger des Autres, des quelles Sonts Williamsburg qui est la Capitale Cependant de peu de Consequence Excepté dans le tems de leurs assemblées general qui s'y tiennent deux fois l'anné Scavoir, l'une Commence le 10 avril et tient 24 Jours, l'autre le 10 Aibre et tient Egalement 24 Jours.⁷⁸ dans Ces tems Il s'y rend beaucoup de monde, mais dans d'autre C'Est bien peu de chose. Il y a encore les villes de York, Newcastle, petersburg, frederickburg, port Royal et quelques autres, mais qui Sonts moindre, les Uns que les autres.

le Maryland, a Cet Egard, est Comme la virginie, anapolis En est la Capitale; elle est sur la rivière severn, a gauche En y entrant, sans Canons sans aucun Defence, de très facile accès, l'on y peut aler sans pilots, Elle est peu Considerable, apres Celle ci est baltimore qui est apeu pres dans le meme Cas. Il y a aussi alexandrie sur la rivière Patowmac, ou l'Amiral Bradock C'Est retiré après sa Defaite En Canada, avec son Esquadre.⁷⁹ Deux Fregattes de 36 Canons sonts en etat de prendre toute Ces villes, et les mettre à Contribution, s'Entand en les surprenant. Je ne Scai mem Si une Seulle ne le feroit pas. Il faudroit dans Ces occasions De l'Expedition Car il y a ordinairement Des fregattes et Vaiss'x De guerre sur la Costte et les Chemins sonts bean dans le pays, les Expriés y vonts vite, la Flotte qui s'assemble Entems de guerre a York où Devant Hampton, est ce qui merit le plus d'attention Dans Ces deux provinces.

Il n'en est pas de mem de Philadelphia, Capitale de la Penssylvanie, Cette Ville est Considerable, elle est Eloigné de la mer de 50 lieux, s'Entend de l'Embouchure de la rivière Delaware, la navigation de Cette rivière est Difficile, mais Il y a de Bon pilots à Lewis town,⁸⁰ (petite Ville qui est à l'Entrée, a 3 milles du Cap henlopen) qui Sonts toujours prêts à aller abord des Batiments qui paroissent avec un yak a la tête Du mast du petit peroquet.⁸¹ quand les Vents sonts bon, pour monter la rivière, on se rend a la Ville en 24 heurs, quand Ils Sonts Contraire l'on s'y rend par le moyen des marrés, qui Sonts fortes dans Cette Baye, a l'Ex[t]remitté Du Sud de la Ville Il y a une baterie qui est presqu'abandonné; Il peut y avoir 24 Cannons en fort mauvaise Etatt. l'on a bien tot passé Cette baterie et quand on est par le travers du milieu de la Ville on est hors De Sa porté, la riviere de Sculkill passe Derrière la Ville et tombe dans la baye a une lieux au deSous. rien de plus facile que D'Envoyer Des Chaloupes dans Cette rivière, débarquer Du monde pour prendre la Vile par derierre, pendant que les Vaisseaux atireroient l'attention Des habitants dans l'autre Extremité. Ce Debarquement Doit Ce faire de nuit; pour Cet Efet on peut laisser Un Batiment, avec le monde qui y est Destinné, a l'Embouchure de la Dite rivière Et au Comencement Du flot (Car ils auronts une bonne lieux a faire de l'Embouchure, a l'Endroit Du débarquement pour avoir le moïn de Chemin a faire par terre qui est $1\frac{1}{2}$ de lieux) Envoyer les Chaloupes avec le monde, on ne seras pas Embarrassé pour trouver Des Endroits Commode pour mettre pied atterre et y estant Il est facile d'En avertir les Vaisseaux par le moyen de quelque fusée Envoyé en l'air.

⁷⁸ All erroneous; there was no such regularity.

⁷⁹ Attention has already been called to this error in note 1, above.

⁸⁰ Lewes, Del.

⁸¹ With a jack (or union jack) at the foretopgallantmast.

si on ne veut pas faire le Debarquement Come Je vient De Dire; on peut le faire Du Cotté de la Baye, ou les Vaisseaux peuvent le Couvrir. en ce Cas Je[il] faut le faire a une Des Extremitté De la Ville. l'Extremitté du nord me paroît le plus propre Car il ny á point de fortification a Craindre, et le terrain y est propre, au lieu qu'au Centre de la Ville et jusqu'aux Extremittés Ce ne Sonts que quays, aupres des quels il y á toujours des Batiments, qui le rendroit Difficile. Si on peut faire Cet Expedition sans Etre Decouvert, Je pense que 1200 homes pourroient y reussire, mais Il faut de la Suprise autrement Il faud[r]oit un bien plus grand Nombre. Car on peut assembler beaucoup de monde dans Cette Ville et les Environs en peu de tems. Il seroit inutile de Debarquer ailleurs qu'a la Ville; Car on trouveroit dans les riviéres Des obstacles sans fin et insurmontable, on ne peut les passer qu'en batteau et elles sont en grand nombre.

ayant fait Ce qu'on Ce Seroit proposé a Philadelphia, Il y á la Ville de New Castle Sur le mem Cotté de la riviére, Environs 10 lieux plus bas, qui est la plus Considerable après la Capittalle. l'on voit la position de Cet Endro[it] D'abord. elle est ainssi que les autres sans Defence. Il y á Environs 500 maisons. Il y á ordinairement une ou deux fregattes moullé Ici Devant, pour Visiter les Batiments qui sortent et qui Entrent.

Venons apresent a la Nouvelle York, Capitale de la province du mem nom. l'on ne rencontre pas les memes Difficultées pour Ce rendre a Cette Ville. Il faut neanmoins avoir recours aux pilotes, que l'on trouve Ici Comme ailleurs; quand on est passé les narows, qui Veut Dire les Etroits, Il n'y á plus rien a Craindre, Jusqu'a la Ville, qui est E'oigné de l'Embouchure Environs 8 lieux. la fortification (dont on trouveras la Description dans le journa') Est dans le S. O. de la ville, et le port est dans l'Est, dans le Canal qui passe Entre l'isle longue et la Ville, les anglais apelent Ce Canal East river. Ici Ils ont leurs Chentiers, tous les Batiments mouillent Ici. pour Entrer dans Ce port par la passe ordinaire on est obligé de passé devant le fort mais Cest bientot fait avec un bon vent De la partie Du Sud-Est jusqu'au ouest D'autant mieux que la passe est belle. Estant Dans le port on Est maitre de la Ville, puisqu'on peut l'abatre En peu de tems, ou faire Debarquer son monde dans les Differenttes rues. Si on ne veut pas s'Exposer a passer Devant la baterie on peut prendre possession D'une Isl'e qui est a l'Entrée et Dans le milieux de Ce Canal qui fait le port, et y Dessendre Du Cannon pour battre la Ville Et la fortification. Derrière Cette Isle, entre elle et l'isle longue Il y a une autre passe pour Des moyen batiments. Dans Cette passe on peut Envoyer le monde du Debarquem't dans les Vaisseaux de transport ou mem Dans les Chaloupes et faire la dessente que l'on Couvriras Du Cannons sur l'islet.

pour faire des Expeditions dans Ce pays, Il faut bien ce provisioner de munitions de guerre, Car on ny en trouve pas. quelques Cannons de Campagne, seroient fort apropos.

Si on vouloit faire la Conquest Du pays Il seroit Essenciel De s'Emparer De l'isle longue. Car outre qu'on y trouveroit Des provisions de toute Espece, Il y á de fort bon Cheveaux pour monter la Cavalerie.

